

THE EDINBURGH MUSICAL SOCIETY: ITS MEMBERSHIP AND REPERTOIRE 1728 -1797

JENNIFER MACLEOD



DECLARATION

I declare that: a) this thesis has been composed by me, the undersigned,
b) the work contained in it is my own, and
c) the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional
qualification, except as specified.

Signed:

Jennifer Macleod

19 March 2001

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
 INTRODUCTION	 1
Original Papers of the Musical Society	6
Summary of Thesis Chapters	8
 CHAPTER	
1. THE MUSICAL SOCIETY AND ITS PLACE AMONG THE CLUBS AND SOCIETIES OF EDINBURGH	 10
2. THE ORGANISATION OF THE SOCIETY AND ITS MEMBERSHIP	22
Organisation	23
Membership	26
Analysis of Membership	30
Office-bearers	33
Family and Other Connections among the Membership	51
Overview of Membership	55
3. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CONCERTS	
Employment of Professional Musicians	60
Music and Instruments	66
The Concert Season	68
The Subscriptions and Accounts of the Society	73
General Finances	82
4. THE CONCERT PLANNING OF THE MUSICAL SOCIETY	
The Plan Books	90
The Indexes of Music owned by the Society	92
Dispersal of the Society's Music	96
Purchase of Music	98

Copying of Music	104
Repertoire detailed in the Plan Books	107
Oratorio and Ladies' Concerts	121
Oratorio Information in the Plan Books	125
Special Concerts	130
The Place of the Earl of Kelly	132
Vocal Music	134
 5. MUSICIANS EMPLOYED BY THE SOCIETY	140
The Leaders of the Orchestra	141
Other Members of the Orchestra	150
Singers	155
Analysis of Information on Singers in the Plan Books	182
Summary	184
 6. FREEMASONRY AND THE EDINBURGH MUSICAL SOCIETY	187
Musical and Social Connections between Freemasonry and the Musical Society	189
Music and Public Ceremonies	193
Funeral Concerts	197
Musicians in Lodges	199
 7. THE LAST YEARS OF THE SOCIETY	
The Building of South Bridge	206
The Influence of William Tytler	212
Financial Difficulties	220
 CONCLUSION	229
 APPENDICES	
A. Articles and Regulations of the Musical Society	234
B. Members common to the Musical Society and other Clubs	236
C. List of Members of the Society	239
D. Musicians Employed by the Society	255
E. Year-by-year balance of the Musical Society Accounts	258
F. Music played in the concerts listed in the Plan Books	261

G.	Music Purchases recorded in Society papers	266
G2.	Music Purchases listed by year	272
H.	Instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782	278
I.	Oratorios performed by the Musical Society	287
J.	Works copied for use by the Musical Society	291
K.	Purchases of the <i>Periodical Overtures</i> by the Musical Society	295
L.	Directors of the Musical Society	298
M.	Description of papers relevant to the Edinburgh Musical Society in the possession of the Boughton Estate	300
N.	Members of the Musical Society listed by Masonic Lodge	306
	 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 311

LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Dates of increase of membership	26
2.2	Membership lists by year	29
2.3	Analysis of membership	30
3.1	Number of musicians employed 1728-1795	62
3.2	Yearly total of concerts in the plan books	69
4.1	Expenditure on music	99
4.2	No. of works by composer purchased in 1747-1760	101
4.3	No. of works by composer purchased in 1761-1770	102
4.4	No. of works by composer purchased in 1771-1790	103
4.5	Repertoire played in 1768 with later entries	108
4.6	Works added to the repertoire in 1769 with later entries	110
4.7	Works added to the repertoire in 1770 with later entries	111
4.8	Works added to the repertoire in 1771 with later entries	112
4.9	Works added to the repertoire in 1778 with later entries	113
4.10	Works added to the repertoire in 1779 with later entries	114
4.11	Works added to the repertoire in 1780 with later entries	115
4.12	Works added to the repertoire in 1781 with later entries	117
4.13	Works added to the repertoire in 1782 with later entries	117
4.14	Works added to the repertoire in 1783 with later entries	118
4.15	Works added to the repertoire in 1784 with later entries	119
4.16	Works added to the repertoire in 1785 with later entries	119
4.17	Works added to the repertoire in 1786	120
4.18	Vocal music listed in the plan books	134

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

EPL Edinburgh Public Library
EMS Edinburgh Musical Society
NAS National Archives of Scotland
NLS National Library of Scotland

All quotations from Musical Society documents and other contemporary sources are given with original spelling and punctuation.

Full names of all persons referred to are given where possible. If a first name is not known a title is used, e.g. Signora Doria, Signor Luciani.

In footnote references, place of publication is Edinburgh unless otherwise stated.

All references to money are expressed in pounds, shillings and pence.

£1 = 20 shillings.

1 shilling (1/-) = 12 pence (decimal currency equivalent = 5p).

Half a crown = 2 shillings and sixpence.

1 guinea (gn.) = 21 shillings.

ABSTRACT

The thesis gives an account of the life of the Musical Society of Edinburgh from its formation as a properly-constituted organisation in 1728 until its closure in 1797. The principal contemporary sources are the Minute Books and concert plan books, along with the accounts and other papers belonging to the Society, which are to be found in several locations in Edinburgh. The information contained in these has been collated and put into databases which are not themselves part of the submission, but which have been used to draw conclusions stated in the thesis. The most important items from the databases are presented in the appendices.

The Musical Society is considered in the context of the cultural and social life of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, in particular against the background of other clubs and societies. Its organisation is described, in relation to its membership, its funding and its main function of presenting weekly concerts. The programmes in the concert plan books are analysed, and the music performed is linked with the evidence of music purchased or copied at different times, and also with the two Indexes of music which survive, to give as complete a picture as possible of the concerts.

The employment of professional musicians by the Society, and the influence which this had on music-making in the city, is discussed with particular reference to the presence of foreign (mainly Italian) performers. The importance of singers to the concerts is also discussed, and accounts are given of the careers with the Musical Society of the principal vocal soloists and leaders of the orchestra.

An important and hitherto unresearched connection is made between the Musical Society and the Masonic lodges in the centre of the city because of their common use of music and employment of the same professional players in their activities, and because of the many members, musicians and others, common to the lodges and the Society.

The changes in the city and in its social atmosphere which led to the decline and eventual demise of the Musical Society are considered, and conclusions are drawn as to the Society's place in the musical history of eighteenth century Edinburgh, and its contribution to the cultural life of the time.

THE EDINBURGH MUSICAL SOCIETY: ITS MEMBERSHIP AND REPERTOIRE 1728-1797

INTRODUCTION

'The musical society has subsisted these fifty years, with great honour and reputation; and, at present, it is esteemed one of the most elegant and genteel entertainments ... of any in Britain.' So wrote Hugo Arnot in his *History of Edinburgh* (1779), closing an approving account of the activities of the Society, which at that time was at the peak of its popularity. An English visitor to the city, Edward Topham, described with some amazement the attitude to music which he found, when he wrote in 1775:

Indeed, the degree of attachment which is shewn to Music in general in this country, exceeds belief. It is not only the principal entertainment, but the constant topic of conversation; and it is necessary not only to be a lover of it, but to be possessed of a knowledge of the science to make yourself agreeable to society.¹

Such glowing opinions of contemporary standards in music making and appreciation were the results of a process which started long before the above words were written, even before the beginnings of the Musical Society itself. The hall which the Society built for its concerts in 1762 is still to be seen in Edinburgh, now restored to its original form.² The building is a legacy left to the city and to our own time by the Musical Society, but the status and influence of the Society in its own century should be examined in order to determine its place and its achievements.

Having begun with a group of amateurs who wished to improve their own skills as musicians, as well as to give concerts and enjoy playing together, the Society became the most important single influence on the musical culture of Edinburgh, giving concerts of music by older composers such as Corelli, Geminiani, and Handel alongside the newer works of Stamitz, Richter and others.³ Scottish music was not ignored; Scots songs and works by native composers regularly appeared in the programmes. The Society continued to give concerts until 1797,

¹*Letters from Edinburgh written in the years 1774 and 1775*. London, 1776.

² St. Cecilia's Hall, situated in the Cowgate, now belongs to the University of Edinburgh, and is used as a concert hall.

³ See Chapter 4.

when various circumstances discussed in Chapter 7 brought its life to an end. The foreign players whom the Society brought to the city were one of the strongest reasons for the success of the concerts, but the expense involved was ultimately one cause of their ending. It may be said that the work of promoting what was considered as the best in contemporary music cost more than the Society was able to find. Financial problems dogged the last years of its existence, and these will be examined, along with other reasons which led to the closing of the Society after it had enjoyed a long and fruitful existence.

Research which has been done on the many philosophical or literary clubs to which educated citizens belonged in the eighteenth century has proved the important place which they occupied in the intellectual and cultural activities of Edinburgh.⁴ Dwyer has discussed the influence of the philosopher Francis Hutcheson, whose theory of a shared world of moral experience promoted the value of communication for the establishment of norms in societal groups. Hutcheson emphasised the social pleasure and ethical value of conversation as a critical contribution in cementing social bonds, while appreciation of art could be engendered in the same way.⁵ The clubs described by McElroy created surroundings where the development of Hutcheson's ideas was seen in practice.

The Musical Society, the only organisation which provided a forum for gentlemen to hear and to perform music, made just as important a contribution to the social, cultural and educational aspects of life as the clubs concerned with the written and spoken word, but its proceedings have not been as well documented as those of the artistic and literary societies. It is the aim of this thesis to set forth the history of the Society in detail, to describe its growth and influence in the city, and to examine its procedures in continuing to present concerts weekly for almost seventy years. From consideration of the people and material involved, it is hoped that a better understanding will be reached of the place the Society occupied in the cultural life of Edinburgh, and of the contribution it and its members made to that life.

⁴ In particular, see D.D. McElroy, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Eighteenth Century Scotland', Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1952, and J. Dwyer and R. Sher, eds., *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, 1993. Also Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 1985.

⁵ Dwyer and Sher, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 1.

In the introduction to his book on choral singing,⁶ Robert Marr gave a short but interesting view of the Musical Society, charting its progress through the century with reference to newspaper announcements of benefit concerts and making use of the Plan Books (see below)⁷ which were available to him in the University Library. He pointed out that it was the Society which introduced choral singing to Scotland with its championship of the oratorios of Handel.

The work of D. Fraser Harris⁸ was the first to attempt a full account of the life of the Society, and his book contains much valuable information, particularly on the musicians, although it concentrates on the period of time after the building of the Society's own hall, i.e. after 1762. It has a chapter on 'The rise of the concert' which illustrates the life of the Society before this time, but the author did not have access to the Sederunt books⁹ (Minute books) of the Society. These were gifted to the Edinburgh Public Library in the early 1930s and the first account of the Society written after this important source was available was the article by W. Forbes Gray 'The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall'.¹⁰ Forbes Gray was the first to be able to consider the finances and general running of the Society. He gave a wide-ranging account of the main aspects of the Society's life, including some of the foreign employees and the building of St. Cecilia's Hall. He pinpointed the exclusivity of the membership and the financial problems which dogged its existence, but it is possible that haste to publish his findings led him into inaccuracies. For instance, he confused the Deputy Governor John Douglas in 1728 with the Treasurer William Douglas, who held office from 1749-71 and did not join the Society until 1737.

Professor Henry Farmer considered the Musical Society of Edinburgh¹¹ in the context of a more national view, with accounts of the musical activities of the cities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. He devoted only a little space to the Edinburgh Society as a whole, but put forward the idea that its achievements have not been sufficiently recognised, comparing the concerts favourably to those of various London musical institutions.¹² In different sections of the book he mentioned

⁶ *Music for the People*, 1889.

⁷ Ref. La III 562-4. See footnote 28.

⁸ *St. Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, 1911.

⁹ Edinburgh Public Libraries, Ref. qYML 28 MS.

¹⁰ *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 19, 1933, pp. 189-245.

¹¹ *History of Music in Scotland*, London, 1947.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 311.

singers and instrumentalists connected with the Society, but the layout of his information makes it difficult to form a proper picture of the Society's activities. He was followed by Dr. David Johnson, whose book¹³ looked at the Musical Society's contribution to the musical life of the capital in conjunction with theatre, opera and the growing interest at the time in the native music of Scotland, particularly in the fields of song and fiddle music. His references to the Society were necessarily brief, since his work dealt with the whole musical culture of the time, but he provided a short overview of the place of the Society in this context. He also wrote a chapter on the Earl of Kellie, discussing his life and compositions, a subject relevant to the repertoire of the Society's concerts.

More recently, in the book¹⁴ by John Purser, *Music in Scotland*, which accompanied the series of programmes of the same name on BBC Radio Scotland, the sections devoted to the eighteenth century include valuable information on the Earl of Kellie, James Oswald and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, all at different times connected with the Musical Society, but the Society itself is referred to only in passing. The book deals with some personalities, especially composers such as William McGibbon and Dr. David Foulis, who had an influence on musical life in Edinburgh and were involved with the Society (the former as an employee, the latter as a member), but unfortunately gives no proper space to the Society, the institution which upheld classical music in Scotland for so many years of the century.

Dr. John L. Cranmer's Ph.D. thesis¹⁵ gives an informative picture of Edinburgh's professional music business in the later years of the Society's existence, and provides commercial reasons for its decline in popularity. He has made a considerable contribution to knowledge of general musical activity in the city of Edinburgh, and the growth in publishing there, as well as discussing the changes which came about because the demise of the Musical Society made it easier for musicians to widen their public performances, instead of being tied to the Society.

¹³ *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, 1972.

¹⁴ Published in 1992.

¹⁵ 'Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh c.1780-c.1830', University of Edinburgh, 1991.

The architecture of the hall built by the Society has been considered by Deborah Howard,¹⁶ who argues that the conventional comparison of the Hall with the Opera House in Parma is misplaced. Professor Sydney Newman, in notes made at the time of the purchase of the Hall by the University of Edinburgh in 1962, put forward his own view that a chance reference to the Parma building had been taken up and used by Arnot¹⁷ with no justification.¹⁸ The opinions of Howard and Newman are an important counter to the unsupported statement by Arnot in 1779 which was repeated by other later writers such as Chambers¹⁹ and Fraser Harris. In addition Howard advances reasons for the decline of the Society connected with the position of the Hall in the Old Town district of the city.

The activities of the Musical Society in Edinburgh are considered alongside musical life in other British cities in the Ph.D. thesis presented in Oxford by Jenny Burchell.²⁰ The conclusions drawn regarding the administration of the Society and some of the reasons for its decline will be discussed in Chapter 7. One of the main points on which she relied for her analysis of the administration is not confirmed in the Society's papers, but she has written more than any other scholar on the concert repertoire and has included consideration of the works played in benefit and charity concerts.²¹

This thesis will refer to the above works along with others, and to the research which has been done in recent years in the wider fields of the Scottish Enlightenment and social and cultural history with particular reference to Edinburgh. Work by Daiches²² and Dwyer²³ deals with the philosophical and nationalist ideas of the time, while the research done particularly in Edinburgh by

¹⁶ 'St. Cecilia's Hall: Architecture and Music in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh', in *Essays in Honour of Basil Skinner*, 1993, pp. 31-52.

¹⁷ *History of Edinburgh*, p. 291.

¹⁸ See bibliography. Professor Newman was Reid Professor of Music in the University of Edinburgh at the time.

¹⁹ *Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1824, p. 250.

²⁰ 'Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle 1730-1799', 1993.

²¹ Two recently-submitted Ph.D theses are of relevance to the period and area of study. They are: Sonia Tinagli Baxter 'Italian Musicians in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century', University of Glasgow, 2000, and Helen Goodwill 'The Musical Involvement of the Landowning Classes in Eastern Scotland 1685-1760', University of Edinburgh, 2000.

²² D. Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture*, 1964; *Hotbed of Genius*. 1980.

²³ J. Dwyer, *The Age of the Passions*, 1998; *Virtuous Discourse*, 1987.

Murdoch,²⁴ Phillipson,²⁵ and Sher²⁶ offers valuable insights into the political and historical contexts. The main resource, however, will be the papers of the Musical Society, and the thesis will analyse the information which they contain in order to reach its conclusions. This is the first study to make extensive use of the Society's papers, including those which have been preserved in the estate of Gilbert Innes (see (d) below). From these in particular much valuable detail has been obtained to expand understanding of the Society's Minute Books and accounts. Reference will be made as necessary to contemporary newspapers. A systematic survey of material there has not been undertaken, because of the size of the task.

ORIGINAL PAPERS OF THE MUSICAL SOCIETY

The papers of the Society which are available for study consist of:

(a) the Sederunt (Minute) Books, four volumes which record the business of the Society from its beginnings in 1727-28 to 1795. The Articles and Regulations agreed by the Society for its administration are at the beginning of the first volume.²⁷ The Books include not only minutes of meetings held on a regular basis, and yearly account records, but copies of letters sent on Society business, accounts of many of the Society's dealings with the professional musicians employed over the years, and details of changes in membership. The original volumes are held by the Central Public Library in Edinburgh;²⁸

(b) the two surviving Indexes of music owned by the Society, made in 1765 and 1782. These contain lists of music by composer (orchestral and chamber music, and overtures), and by title (overtures and songs). There is also a list of collected works, called in the Indexes 'music in score', which includes volumes of oratorio extracts, groups of songs and other vocal collections. The two lists of music

²⁴ A. Murdoch, *'The People Above': Politics and Administration in Mid-Eighteenth Century Scotland*, 1980; A. Murdoch, R. Mason and J. Dwyer, eds., *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, 1982.

²⁵ N. Phillipson, 'Towards a definition of the Scottish Enlightenment', in *City and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, P.S. Fritz and D. Williams eds., 1973, pp. 125-147; *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, N. Phillipson and R. Mitchison, eds.

²⁶ Sher, *op. cit.*.

²⁷ These are reproduced in Appendix A.

²⁸ Ref. qYML 28 MS, in the Edinburgh Room. The accession record for these items has been lost.

belonging to the Society afford a view of the prevailing taste and an opportunity for comparison with what was actually played according to the Plan Books. The 1765 Index is in the Edinburgh University Library,²⁹ and the other in the public Library.³⁰ The contents of both have been put on micro-film and are available in the Reid Music Library, University of Edinburgh;

(c) the Plan Books of concert programmes for the years 1768-71 and 1778-86 (2 volumes 1778-82 and 1782-86), where the repertoire played by the Society can be seen and programming methods may be considered. An indication of the popularity of certain composers and works will be obtained from analysis of the programmes;

(d) papers belonging to the Musical Society which are now in the National Archives of Scotland (NAS).³¹ These are mainly financial and add to the accounts given each year in the Sederunt Books of the Society's transactions, with details of salaries to the musicians employed by the Society, payment for copying of music (especially in the years before it was readily available in print), and payment to others for services such as provision of candles, caretaking of the concert room, training of the chorus for an oratorio and many other functions. The papers were in the possession of Gilbert Innes of Stow, who was a Director of the Society from 1782, and who took on much of the administration in its last years. His close connection with the running of the Society's business means that there are also letters in the NAS holdings which throw light on procedure, especially concerning the employment of soloists, and on the efforts made by a few members to keep the Society functioning in the 1790s, when financial and other considerations were causing difficulties. When the Society ceased to function, Innes took the extant papers and stored them with his personal documents. After his death in 1837 all his papers were given to the then Scottish Record Office, and those relating to the Musical Society have been for the most part separated out from the extensive collection of estate documents, and placed together for easy reference. These papers are a particularly important resource for the work presented in this thesis.

²⁹ Ref. La III 761. The reference indicates that the Index came to the library, with the Plan Books, in the estate of David Laing, a renowned antiquarian in 19th century Edinburgh, and librarian in the Advocates' Library. How it came to him was not recorded.

³⁰ Ref. qYML 28 MS. This Index was gifted to the Public Library by Robert Marr, author of *Music for the People*, in which he referred to his ownership of the Index (introduction, p. xxvi).

³¹ Ref. GD113. Until 1 January, 1999, the NAS was known as the Scottish Record Office.

The only writer of those mentioned above to make any reference to the Innes collection is Jenny Burchell, although the scope of her work did not permit close consideration of it.

Some surviving musical books and scores belonging to the Society have recently come to light, and are considered for the first time in this thesis.³² The most important are discussed in Chapter 4, in the section on the dispersal of the Society's music. A full list of the contents of the collection which relate to the Society is given in Appendix M.

SUMMARY OF THESIS CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 of this thesis places the Society in the context of the clubs and societies which abounded in Edinburgh at the time. Chapter 2 describes and analyses the membership of the Society throughout the years of its existence, discussing changes and presenting evidence from the Society's papers. The principal offices and office-bearers are discussed. The men who were involved had a great influence on the progress of the Society, and on cultural life in the city in fields other than music, and there were overlapping circles of family and other connections which were a feature of social life in Edinburgh.

Chapter 3 considers the administration of the concerts which were the Society's main activity, along with an assessment of the finances. Difficulties which arose from changing circumstances through the years are discussed. The concerts and their programmes are the subject of Chapter 4, and the contents of the Indexes of music and the Plan Books are analysed, together with an account of the oratorios performed and the vocal music included in the concert programmes. Chapter 5 considers the leaders of the orchestra and the singers, with some of the principal musicians employed in the concerts. Chapter 6 makes connections between the Society and the particular social circle of Freemasonry, which was growing in the city at the time. Research for this thesis has shown that, because of their use of music in ceremonies, masonic lodges took advantage of the musical resources available in Edinburgh and employed several of the musicians who worked for the Society. Many members of the Society were also freemasons, and the overlap between the two organisations will be discussed. Chapter 7 takes the last years of

³² The collection of books and scores is from the estate of the Duke of Buccleuch, Boughton House, Northamptonshire, and is at present in the County Record Office, Northampton.

the Society's existence for special consideration, as various strands of social, civic and cultural development came together to create the circumstances for the decline of the sort of activity which the Society provided.

Because the various source papers belonging to the Musical Society are scattered among several institutions in Edinburgh, it has not been possible until the advent of computers to assemble information easily, in order to make deductions about the life and history of the Society. For the purposes of this thesis, computerised databases were constructed of the membership of the Society, the musicians employed, the contents of the Innes of Stow papers (including details of music bought and copied for use in the concerts), and the plans for concerts which are given in the Plan Books. Much of the resulting information is reproduced in the Appendices, which may be consulted in conjunction with the appropriate sections of the text. Use of databases has shown for the first time the large number of musicians employed and the pattern of employment, along with the importance of some composers in the Society's repertoire throughout its life. It has also enabled an analysis to be made which provides a more informed comment on the membership than was possible before.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MUSICAL SOCIETY AND ITS PLACE AMONG THE CLUBS AND SOCIETIES OF EDINBURGH

Before the detail of the life and achievements of the Society is discussed, consideration should be given to the social and cultural context which it occupied, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century when Edinburgh was providing the ground for the growth and flowering of the Scottish Enlightenment, which engendered in the city so much intellectual richness.

Clubs and societies of every description flourished, with the growth of the middle class and the efforts of energetic people in Edinburgh to find a channel for abilities which until the union of the parliaments would have been used in government.¹ After this Union of 1707 and the departure for London of those in the ruling class who could afford to go, social and business life in the Scottish capital found substitutes for government activities in the improvement of the university and of amenities such as the Infirmary. The continuation of the practice of Scots law became one focus of intellectual life as a field which retained its distinctive Scottish nature,² and because the city was still small, a spirit of sociability grew up between those in legal and other circles who all knew each other. This resulted in the formation of debating and philosophical clubs, and others such as the Musical Society which served different cultural needs.

By the middle years of the century, many families were headed by men who had had no personal experience of Scottish government, since they had been too young at the time of the Union in 1707. They found a group identity instead in societies which looked for improvements in agriculture, and soon expanded into what Phillipson calls a 'para-parliament', embodied in the 1750s by the Select Society.³ This club was a place where they widened the subjects which concerned them and branched out into questions of the economy, literature and the arts.

¹ Appendix B lists common membership of the Musical Society and several important clubs.

² See N. Phillipson, 'Lawyers, Landowners and the Civic Leadership of Post-Union Scotland; an essay on the Social Role of the Faculty of Advocates 1661-1830 in 18th Century Scottish Society', *Juridical Review* 1976, pp. 97-120, for a discussion of the increasing prominence of legal practitioners in the civic and cultural life of Scotland.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

Along with the lawyers, these were the men who wanted to promote Hutcheson's ideas of social betterment through education and example, communication and social cohesion.⁴ The advancement of culture in the form of music was a natural direction to follow, although discussion of music's place in society was never documented.

McElroy has defined three main impulses in the 'movement towards improvement' which was the driving force behind the important clubs: the desire of the Scottish people to improve their nation through voluntary co-operative effort, the acceptance of English examples which might be followed, and the recognition that the formation of societies was a practical way to pursue their aims.⁵ The description which follows shows that the societies referred to fulfilled all these criteria. The second half of the century saw the flourishing of the most influential clubs such as the Select Society, the Speculative Society and the Poker Club, but the Easy Club, founded in 1712 by the poet Allan Ramsay and five friends, set a pattern which was followed by many others later. Since the formation of the Musical Society dated from before that of the most prominent debating clubs, it is necessary to consider the background from earlier in the century.

As its name implies, the Easy Club was not one of the most sober and formal but its intention to read a copy of the *Spectator* or *Tatler*, both English literary magazines, at each meeting established its serious purpose and a connection with English critical writing as a model for the discussions. The feeling in Edinburgh immediately after the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 was one of some confusion. An inclination to take advantage of closer links with the culture of the neighbouring country fought with a fear of total assimilation by that culture and encouraged an awareness of the value of native Scottish institutions and a desire to protect an inheritance which was felt to be in danger.⁶ Ramsay and his friends met together:

in order that by a Mutual Improvement in conversation they
may become more adapted for fellowship with the politer

⁴ T.D.Campbell, 'Francis Hutcheson: "Father" of the Scottish Enlightenment', *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment*, R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner, eds., 1982, p. 170.

⁵ McElroy, 'Literary Clubs and Societies', p. 20.

⁶ K. Simpson, *The Protean Scot*, 1988, Aberdeen, p. 3; J. Adam Smith, 'Some 18th Century ideas of Scotland,' in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, Phillipson and Mitchison, eds., 1970, pp. 116-119.

part of mankind and learn also from one another's happy observations.⁷

The members were known in club meetings at first by names of English writers - Ramsay chose 'Isaac Bickerstaff' - but in 1713 names of Scottish writers were chosen instead, and Ramsay was 'Gavin Douglas'. It is interesting to note that the club needed the prop of a non-Scottish framework in the beginning, but felt able quite quickly to dispense with it, as national feeling grew. The Easy Club disbanded in 1715, just after appointing Ramsay to be its poet-laureate, and it provided him with a useful forum to try out his earliest works. His later pastoral play with music *The Gentle Shepherd*⁸ had a great influence on the revival of interest in national literature and sentiment, and the support given by the Musical Society to the performance of Scots songs in its concert programmes shows that in the circles from which it drew its membership the effect of the revival lasted for the rest of the century.

The other cultural organisation of note in the early years of the century was the Rankenian Club, formed in 1717 and only ceasing its activities completely in 1774. A list of nineteen founder members⁹ shows seven clergymen, five lawyers and four university professors. They met to listen to and discuss an essay from a member, and were concerned like the Easy Club in the development of communication. Their aim was 'mutual improvement by liberal conversation and rational inquiry.'¹⁰ It was clear at this point that English was to be important as a literary language with the decline in use of the classical tongues, and increased interchange with the South. Understanding of English by the Scots was not a problem, but the understanding of the Scots tongue still used in everyday life, and the Scots accent, was difficult for others. Local pride fought against the pressure from England, but the Scots were conscious of what Clive refers to as 'limited awareness' and a sense of inferiority.¹¹

Several members of the Rankenian Club were also members of the Musical Society at different times: Colin McLaurin, Professor of Mathematics at the

⁷ Quoted from the *Journal of the Easy Club, established in Edinburgh, May 1712*, in McElroy, 'Literary Clubs and Societies', p. 36.

⁸ Published in 1725.

⁹ To be found as an appendix in A. Tytler, *Life of Henry Home, Lord Kames*, 1807.

¹⁰ Dr. Robert Wallace, 'A Memoir of the Rankenian Club,' in *Scots Magazine*, xxxiii (1771), p. 340.

¹¹ J. Clive, 'The Social Background of the Scottish Renaissance,' in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, 1970, pp. 238-239.

University was a founder member of both, Charles Maitland of Pittrichie, advocate and M.P., was a founder member of the Rankenian and a member of the Musical Society from 1740-1751, Dr. John Pringle, later the President of the Royal Society in London, was a founder of the Rankenian and a member of the Musical Society from 1735-1742, and Professor John Stevenson, professor of logic at the University, was a founder of the Rankenian and a member of the Musical Society from 1738-1741. These prominent and influential citizens helped in their debates to lay 'the philosophical, social, academic and ecclesiastical groundwork for ... the mature Scottish Enlightenment.'¹² Although none was an office-bearer in the Musical Society, their influence must have been felt there, and the Society must have given them something desirable, as witness their sometimes long support of it. The Rankenian Club continued its weekly meetings for over forty years, by which time attendance was diminishing, and so sons of members were invited to join. Of the four sons of members named by Alexander Tytler, three were members of the Musical Society, and the fourth was the son of Colin McLaurin.¹³ The Musical Society was clearly continuing to provide a standard of music and a meeting point for artistic enjoyment which was appreciated by the intellectual elite of the city. The device of admitting sons, however, did not save the Rankenian, as it ceased its weekly meetings in 1771, and wound up in 1774.¹⁴

Colin McLaurin, until his death in 1746, was active in the promotion of another society which encouraged debate and the publication of essays. The Philosophical Society grew out of the Society for improving Arts and Sciences, which itself had grown out of the Medical Society in about 1737.¹⁵ The Medical Society had started publishing specialist essays for educational purposes, and had been asked to expand the range of subjects.¹⁶ This was in tune with an evident desire to discuss the widest possible variety of scientific, philosophical and literary questions, and this impulse led to the founding of perhaps the most powerful group of all in 1754, the Select Society.

¹² Sher, *Church and University*, p. 153.

¹³ A. Tytler, *op. cit.* The three were: Dr. Thomas Young, Professor of Midwifery at the University (EMS 1762-1778), George Wallace, advocate (EMS 1766-1793), and Alexander Murray, advocate, later Lord Henderland (EMS 1763-1784).

¹⁴ McElroy, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Rev. Alexander Carlyle, minister of the parish church at Inveresk, near Musselburgh, and prominent in Edinburgh literary circles, wrote that the founding of the Society 'improved and gave a name to the *literati* of this country, then beginning to distinguish themselves.'¹⁷ The original members included Allan Ramsay junior, the painter, David Hume the philosopher, Adam Smith, Alexander Carlyle, Lord Monboddo, and Alexander Wedderburn (later Lord Loughborough). Six of the fifteen founding members were members of the Musical Society.¹⁸ The Select Society rapidly increased its membership; it doubled in 1754 and by February 1755 stood at eighty three. It was run on formal debating lines and its subjects are well documented in its minutes. Questions such as 'Should Bounties on Corn be allowed?', 'Should the repentance Stool be removed?' or 'Was Brutus right in killing Caesar?' were typical of the subjects raised on trade, religion and history.¹⁹ The membership rose to about three hundred in a few years and eighty five were members of the Musical Society, among whom were Lord Elibank, Lord Monboddo, Lord Kames, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Dr. William Robertson, principal of the University.

The conversations at these convivial meetings frequently improved the members more by free conversation than the speeches in the Society. It was those meetings in particular that rubbed off all corners, as we call it, by collision, and made the *literati* of Edinburgh less captious and pedantic than they were elsewhere.²⁰

The Society's interests expanded from debating into the active encouragement of invention and enterprise in business and they appointed a sub-committee in 1755 to award prizes for suitable projects. This became the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture in Scotland and contributed to the growing desire to guide economic expansion and to incorporate it into the view of life which was shared by members of the Society - one which believed in agricultural reform and economic progress, but which did not want to lose control of the means to achieve these ends.²¹

The Select Society was also responsible for the visit in 1761 to Edinburgh of Thomas Sheridan, father of the playwright, who lectured on the pronunciation of

¹⁷ A. Carlyle, *Autobiography*, 1860, p. 297.

¹⁸ McElroy, *op. cit.*, p. 48. See Appendix B for a list of members common to the Select and Musical Societies, along with other club memberships.

¹⁹ Minutes of the Select Society, NLS Adv. 23.1.1.

²⁰ Carlyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-8.

²¹ McElroy, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

English to large audiences of professional men.²² The wish to be understood without patronisation by their neighbours in the south was still strong among Scotsmen, and demonstrated two of the aims attributed to the Society: that of a desire for national improvement in all fields, and a desire to imitate English models.²³ Alexander Carlyle summed up the success of the Society in a note to a list of its members which he contributed to Dugald Stewart's *Works of William Robertson*:

This Society continued to flourish for several years and became so fashionable that in 1759 their number amounted to more than 130, which included all the *literati* of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood and many of the Nobility and Gentry who, though a few of them only took any share in the debates, thought themselves so well entertained and instructed, that they gave punctual attendance.²⁴

The Belles Lettres Society existed from 1759-63, again for the purpose of literary discussion, and included members of the Musical Society such as Dr. Robertson, Professor John Stevenson, Professor Adam Ferguson, Andrew Crosbie and Dr. John Hope. The Speculative Society started in 1764, having for its aim 'improvement in literary composition and public speaking.'²⁵ This was a student society in the University, and still meets today. One of its founders was William Creech, later a well-known bookseller, publisher of the poems of Robert Burns, and member of the Musical Society for twenty years.

Out of the Belles Lettres Society grew the Feast of Tabernacles, which flourished from 1770-74 and had as members many of the future literary and legal élite such as Henry Mackenzie, William Macleod Bannatyne, Alexander Abercromby, Henry Dundas and Robert Blair, all also members of the Musical Society.²⁶ This group continued as the Mirror Club in 1779, and published the magazines *The Mirror* (pub. 1779-80) and *The Lounger* (pub. 1785-86). The essays in the magazines provide ample material from which to understand the social and moral issues exercising the minds of the writers. They were largely written by Mackenzie, Abercromby and William Craig, another lawyer and member of the Musical Society.

²² H.W.Thompson, *A Scottish Man of Feeling*, Oxford, 1931, p. 51.

²³ McElroy, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

²⁴ D. Stewart, *The Works of William Robertson, D.D., to which is prefaced an account of his life and writings*, London, 1817, p. 145.

²⁵ McElroy, *op. cit.*, p. 380. Henry Mackenzie linked the two clubs under one founder, Sholto Douglas, Advocate, in his *Anecdotes and Egotisms*, H.W.Thompson, ed., London, 1927, p. 36.

²⁶ McElroy, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

Not every society was solely occupied with literary and philosophical matters. A club which has been linked with the Select Society, because many members belonged to both, was the Poker, formed in 1762, after the first flush of popularity of the Select Society. The differences were more marked than the similarities, however, as Richard Sher has noted.²⁷ The Poker Club was formed for a single reason, by those who felt strongly about the defeat of a Scots Militia Bill in the House of Commons in 1760. At a time when national sentiment was growing, the lack of official Scottish armed forces was seen as a deliberate slur on Scotland by the English. Much recruitment had been done by the government in London of Scottish manpower in order to supply regiments for the continuing Seven Years' War, and the same government's unwillingness to allow Scotland to protect itself against possible French incursions was deeply resented.²⁸ The Poker Club was supported by:

all the *literati* of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, most of whom had been members of the Select Society, except very few indeed who adhered to the enemies of militia, together with a great many country gentlemen, who, though not always resident in town, yet were zealous friends to a Scotch militia, and warm in their resentment on its being refused to us, and an invidious line being drawn between Scotland and England.²⁹

It flourished, so Carlyle says, from 1762 to 1784, and seems to have been as much a dining as a discussion club, since his description goes on to talk of arrangements with taverns and the high quality of the company more than of any progress on the question of militia. He also describes the good-humoured conduct of the meetings - the appointment of lawyer Andrew Crosbie as the Club's Assassin 'in case any officer of that sort should be needed;' and the counterbalance of David Hume as Crosbie's Assessor 'so that between plus and minus there was likely to be no bloodshed.'³⁰ The Poker Club and the other institutions mentioned above show clearly the attraction of club life, when friends and business colleagues could meet on an informal basis. It must be remembered also that, in the years before the development of the New Town in Edinburgh, living accommodation in the Old Town was cramped and unhealthy. Businessmen never went home before

²⁷ Sher, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

²⁸ Ibid., pp.227-8; Murdoch, *The People Above*, pp. 91-2.

²⁹ Carlyle, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

³⁰ Ibid.

spending at least an hour in a tavern, where all the different organisations met for lack of suitable space elsewhere.³¹

It is apparent from the foregoing account that the Musical Society shared its membership with the most important literary, political and philosophical clubs of the time. The flourishing of the clubs and their very existence owed much to the power of the teachings of Francis Hutcheson, professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow from 1730-1746. His theory that man has a 'moral sense' which perceives right and wrong action, and that this comes from feeling rather than from reason, gave Scotland a distinctive attitude towards society and sociability throughout the eighteenth century.³² The view of Man as naturally sociable created the opportunity for gatherings of like-minded people, and the reinforcement of the search for common aesthetic and moral conclusions.

To share judgements is to partake of a pleasurable community of common sentiment, in which the bonds of community are enhanced by the cultivated sensibility of its members.³³

Hutcheson encouraged a taste for analytical discussion of feelings and a spirit of liberal enquiry at a time when Presbyterian thinking was beginning to be challenged by such Moderate preachers as Dr. Hugh Blair, minister of the Canongate Kirk and then of the High Kirk of St. Giles, two prestigious posts from which he preached the standpoint of good sense and self-command, with less recourse to the determinism of previous and stricter days.³⁴ (One of the tenets of Hutcheson and his following, especially Henry Mackenzie and Blair, was that feelings and moral judgements were capable of change and education by man, not pre-ordained or immutable.) His sermons were eagerly listened to and he was treated as an arbiter of literary taste in the city, especially in the matter of the poems of Ossian.³⁵ These poems, first published in 1760 as *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland*, played an enormous part in the strengthening of

³¹ R. Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, p. 148.

³² For a summing up of the main points of Hutcheson's philosophy, see S. M. Purviance, 'Intersubjectivity and Sociable Relations in the Philosophy of Francis Hutcheson' in *Sociability and Society*, Dwyer and Sher, eds., pp. 23-38.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁴ Sher, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

³⁵ H. Gaskill, ed., *The Poems of Ossian and other related works*, 1996, is the fullest and most recent edition of the poems. The introduction by Fiona Stafford points out how James MacPherson, in his retelling of old Celtic tales, appealed to the neo-classical taste of the time but moved it forward towards 'the newer demands for originality, individuality and spontaneous composition' (Intro, p. xiv) which were to strengthen in the later years of the century.

the nationalist urge which was looking for Scottish achievement in every field. They stimulated in the philosophers and writers of Edinburgh a reassessment of Scotland's cultural history after the damage done to national identity by the Jacobite defeats. They encouraged the nostalgia for a better age which was a feature of literary debate in the second half of the century, either in portrayals of past valour and ideal society, as seen in the epics of Ossian, or in essays which deplored the malign effect of new trade and growing prosperity on social manners.

In the discussions of the societies and clubs, and in the widely circulated writings of the *Mirror* and *Lounger*, can be seen the dilemma which gradually became more apparent in the later years of the century. On the one hand progress in economic, social and literary areas was to be desired and encouraged, and much work was done in agricultural improvement as well as in trade. On the other hand, however, the changes brought about were not always seen as benefits. Opinion from the 1760s onwards shifted from regarding 'improvement' as a virtue in itself to more awareness of the dangers to community feeling of specialisation in commerce and the change in manners wrought by money in the hands of a *nouveau riche* class who did not have the ideas of social responsibility considered appropriate by the philosophers.³⁶ Patterns of social and economic behaviour were altered when money was spent on luxuries instead of recirculating in the local community, and if the landowners set such an example, the rest of the people affected were bound to follow.³⁷ William Creech in his *Letters to Sir John Sinclair* compared the years 1763 and 1783, often to the detriment of the latter as he saw the change in social habits for the worse:

In no respect were the manners of 1763 and 1783 more remarkable than in the decency, dignity and delicacy of the one period [1763], compared with the looseness, dissipation and licentiousness of the other. Many people ceased to blush at what would formerly have been reckoned a crime.³⁸

These feelings of nostalgia for a better time and distress at what was seen as a decline in standards are as common in our own day as in the eighteenth century. The interest lies in the frequency of their expression in the writings of Henry Mackenzie and his colleagues, and the consequent provision of a social and literary

³⁶ J. Dwyer and A. Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics: Manners, Morals and the Rise of Henry Dundas, 1770-1784,' in *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, 1982, pp. 223-227.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

³⁸ W. Creech, *Letters respecting the Trade, Manners etc. of Edinburgh (written to Sir John Sinclair Bart.)*, 1793, p. 34.

background against which to place the Musical Society as a whole, its function as one of the many gathering points for the individuals mentioned above, along with the actual performance of another art form to which as yet little attention has been given in the consideration of the artistic climate of the time. It should be noted that the Society existed for most of the century, longer than all the literary and philosophical clubs apart from the Speculative Society, so that it might be concluded that music was a more cohesive force, or a less divisive one, than debate. Perhaps the constancy of its members came partly from the very lack of dispute to be found at its meetings, and the sense of communality gained as part of an audience.

The appreciation of music as an art without words, appealing directly to the heart and its feelings, was undoubtedly a strong component of its success, given the ascendancy of 'sentiment' in the philosophy of the time. The communal enjoyment provided by the concerts also showed the 'sociability' thread of prevailing thought, and the use of Scots songs in many programmes meant that national music was constantly heard. The relative conservatism of its concert programmes, illustrated in Chapter 4, links to the feelings of nostalgia mentioned above. The Society provided a forum for the putting into practice, although probably unconsciously, of the various strands of educated thought to which its members were exposed in their other meeting places.

Many other clubs and societies are recorded in the social history of the eighteenth century in Edinburgh, some based on no more than the wish of a group of men to eat and drink together. Because of the nature of available meeting places as mentioned above, it was considered normal to have a drink of choice provided, for example sherry and claret at the Select Society,³⁹ or twopenny ale at the Wig Club.⁴⁰ Each organisation charged a sum of money, either as an annual subscription or more usually at every meeting. The amount varied considerably according to its purpose, and in the case of a club where dining was a feature the cost of the meal was paid by each individual. A dinner with the Poker Club cost one shilling.⁴¹ The business of the Musical Society required a different kind of funding, and this is discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁹ Carlyle, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

⁴⁰ Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁴¹ Carlyle, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

McElroy has divided the clubs and societies discussed in his work into several categories, including:

Debating (13 clubs)

Literary (22)

Convivial (39).

There are also students', foreign, improving, professional, scientific and unclassified groups.⁴² From his detailed information, an impression may be obtained of the enormous variety of societies and the choice open to Edinburgh citizens. There is evidence that members of the Musical Society belonged to some of the more frivolous clubs as well as the serious. The Earl of Haddington, Colonel Campbell of Finab, the Earl of Aboyne, James Cheap of Sauchie and Francis Charteris of Amisfield (later the Earl of Wemyss) were members of the Wig Club, which was started in 1775 as a joke against the newly founded Antiquarian Society, and had no socially improving purpose. 'The erotic sentiments of the club are fully borne out by the fact that several relics more than border on obscenity.'⁴³

The Crochallan Fencibles were so named in 1778 because of the movement to form citizens' bands against possible invasion during the American Civil War - 'fencibles' referred to their defensive role. 'Crochallan' was a corruption of the title of a Gaelic song 'Cro Chalein', sung by the Highland owner of the tavern where the meetings were held. Its members included Alexander Cunningham, Henry Erskine, Alexander Wight, William Dallas, and John Dundas, all lawyers and all members of the Musical Society. The club was of course never called upon to fulfil its ostensible purpose and existed to enjoy the mood of conviviality shared by many similar clubs of the age. It is remembered today because Henry Erskine introduced Robert Burns to it in 1786.⁴⁴

All tastes, from the highest to the lowest, for social and cultural activity were catered for in the spectrum of Edinburgh gentlemen's clubs and societies. They performed the function of bringing together men of different interests, and to some extent different social backgrounds, so that they spent leisure time in each other's company, and learned from each other. The role of the Musical Society was not exactly comparable to that of other organisations, in that it provided an outside

⁴² McElroy, *op. cit.*, insert in Index.

⁴³ H. Cockburn, 'An Account of the Friday Club together with Notes on certain other social clubs in Edinburgh,' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. III, 1911, p. 138.

⁴⁴ A. Fergusson, *The Honourable Henry Erskine, Lord Advocate for Scotland*, 1882, p. 267.

focus for the vast majority of its members - the music - rather than making the activities of the members themselves the sole centre of attention. Those gentlemen amateurs who played with the musicians were given an opportunity to express themselves artistically in a way similar to the speakers in debates, but the presence of the music and the audience gave a dimension which no other gathering possessed.

The two streams of social and intellectual development demonstrated in the clubs and societies of the city were the desire for improvement, both personal and civic, and the great inclination towards a communitarian, sociable approach to the process of improvement. The debates in the clubs were the fora for argument, for theorising and for intellectual battle. The Musical Society concerts provided a very different arena, where a communion of artistic taste and an atmosphere of sociability could be enjoyed. It offered a place of exactly the sort recommended by Francis Hutcheson: '...a pleasurable community of common sentiment' whose members could feel that their shared pleasure was also improving their nature.

This chapter has described the social and cultural surroundings of the Musical Society in a city where the demand for public socialising and the habit of club life grew enormously over the period under consideration.⁴⁵ The next chapter will discuss the membership of the Society in detail, and describe the ways in which its administration differed from that of other organisations.

⁴⁵ P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800*, Oxford, 2000, p. 91.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORGANISATION OF THE SOCIETY AND ITS MEMBERSHIP

In the years before 1728 and the formal beginning of the Musical Society, there are indications of concert life in the city. The most detailed description of a musical event was given by William Tytler, writing about the St. Cecilia's Day concert which took place in Edinburgh on 22 November 1695.¹ Despite the distance in time from his subject, Tytler had access to the original programme and was able to list the players and the works in the concert. The programme was a long one, and included:

- an overture by [Jeremiah] Clerk
- a sonata by Bassani
- a sonata by Corelli
- two sonatas by Torelli
- a trumpet sonata by Barrett
- two works by Pepusch, one for 2 violins and 2 flutes, the other for 2 violins and 2 hautboys.

The players were divided by Tytler into two groups, nineteen 'gentlemen and eleven 'professors or masters of music'. Such a large number of players must have meant that this was the most important musical event of the time. The combination of amateurs and professionals foreshadows the procedure adopted by the Musical Society. The document which Tytler transcribed was signed by 'James Chrystie of Newhall, Preses [Chairman]', a title which suggests that there was an organised approach to the concert.

In 1701, another concert for St. Cecilia's Day was advertised, again with indications that there existed a club for the performance of music before 1728:

Edinburgh, November 22. This being St. Cecilia's Day the Society of Musicians of the Kingdom, Noblemen and Gentlemen met at the Skinners Hall, where they had an Excellent performance of Musick of all kinds before a great number of Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes; And thereafter went to the Ship Tavern where they elected their Stewards for the ensuing year, and closed the day with musick.²

¹ 'Of the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century', *Transactions of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland*, vol. I, 1792, pp. 506-510. William Tytler was a member of the Musical Society for many years. His influence is discussed in Chapter 7.

² *Edinburgh Gazette*, 21-24 Nov., 1701.

References in the poems of Allan Ramsay to a 'Musick Club' are the only other evidence of the existence of an organisation similar to the Musical Society.³ Johnson describes some concert series which were held at various times from 1693-1719. These were occasional occurrences run by professional musicians.⁴ They show that there was already in the city some support for musical presentations, and also that there was enough interest on the part of amateur players for the formation of the Musical Society to be welcomed.

ORGANISATION

When the Edinburgh Musical Society wrote its Regulations and Articles in March, 1728, it stated that:

we the members of the Musicall Society held weekly in Mary's Chapell in Niddry's Wynd ... do hereby agree to assemble ourselves weekly in the said place for the performance of Concerts of Musick as we have already done for these twelve months past.⁵

The total membership decided upon was seventy.⁶ The list of subscribers for that year had sixty-seven names on it,⁷ and a structure of administration was set up by the group of gentlemen who had already been meeting in Mary's Chapel. They wished to continue their entertainment on a more formal basis, with office-bearers and subscriptions, indicating that the weekly concerts were popular and needed more organisation as the numbers of participants grew.⁸

In June 1728, a committee of office-bearers was elected comprising a Governor, Deputy Governor, Treasurer and five Directors,⁹ and the second Wednesday in June was appointed for the general meeting of the Society. This was the time for each member to pay one guinea to the Treasurer 'towards defraying the

³ *Poems*, 2 vols., 1721-28. In the poem in vol. I entitled 'To the Musick Club', Ramsay refers to the playing of works by Corelli, and the singing of Scots songs, both characteristic of the subsequent programmes of the Musical Society.

'And with Corelli's soft Italian song, Mix "Cowdenknowes" and "Winter nights are long".'

⁴ Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 32-33.

⁵ Appendix A, in the preamble to the Articles and Regulations.

⁶ See Appendix A, Article 1.

⁷ EMS Minutes, vol. 1, p. 3.

⁸ Appendix C lists the membership of the Society; Appendix L lists those who held office as Directors.

⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 5, and Article 2.

annuall charge of the Society and the augmenting its stock'.¹⁰ The popularity of the Society was never in doubt, and the first increase in the membership numbers came in June 1730, when ten new members were admitted. In the following year, at the meeting in June, it was agreed that the Directors should be given the right to ask members, at a meeting to be held in November, for an additional guinea per year if they considered this necessary.¹¹

This established the pattern of activity of the Society over the years of its existence. The Anniversary or general meeting each June was advertised in the newspapers and by letter directed to each member.¹² At this meeting office-bearers were elected, vacancies in the membership filled and the annual subscription paid. An entry for each of these meetings was made in the Minute Books, for example on 11 June 1735:¹³

This being the Anniversary meeting of the Society the members gave in their signed lists for electing Governour deputy Governour five Directors and Treasurer in the terms of the Second Article of their generall Rules and the following persons were elected for the ensuing year viz: Tho. Pringle writer to the Signet Governour, John Douglas Surgeon Deputy Governour, Alexr. Bayne Advocate, Peter Wedderburn Advocate, Charles Sinclair Advocate, Alexr. Home Esqr. & David Inglis Merchant Directors & James Home writer to the Signet Treasurer.

Thereafter the Society proceeded to consider the vacant places thro the absence of those for whom no proxy appeared to continue their Subscription for another year, and the following places were found vacant viz: [a list of 15 members who had not paid their subscription], and a List of Candidates being prepared the following persons were duly elected viz [a list of 15 replacements].

The recording of membership changes followed the same pattern throughout the Minute Books. There was also, from 1731, a meeting called each year in the same way in November, to collect the additional guinea (or whatever sum was in force at the time), and to fill any vacancies which had arisen since the summer. The board of Directors was strict in allowing as members only those who had paid their contribution, and throughout the volumes of Minutes the names of those elected (either to membership or to a position among the Directors) were

¹⁰ Appendix A, Article 3.

¹¹ EMS Minutes, vol. 1, p. 21.

¹² Ibid., p. 25.

¹³ Ibid., p. 47.

minuted along with the names of those who had died, resigned or omitted to pay the subscription. Although the entries were not always complete, it has been possible to compile from these records a database of the membership of the Society over the approximately seventy years of its formal existence, and to distinguish some of the men who gave particular service.¹⁴ Information from the database has been used to enable the analysis of membership below.

The structure of the governing board and the rigidity with which it was maintained throughout the life of the Society was not a characteristic of any other club in Edinburgh at that time. The debating and literary societies did not have many office-bearers, as they appointed a member to preside at each meeting.¹⁵ The nature of their business was very different from that of the Musical Society – discussion was based on contributions prepared by one or two members, and only the Musical Society employed others to take part in their activities. The production of concerts was a much more complicated process than a literary or philosophical debate, and needed the support of a committee to ensure the smooth running of the event each week. Thus the Society relied on the contribution of many of its members in positions of responsibility over the years. The contribution of time and effort on the part of the Directors was matched by the monetary contribution of the members, which was equally necessary for the funding of the concerts, from the beginning of their existence. The Society began to employ paid musicians in 1727, and used subscriptions and ticket money to pay them.¹⁶

¹⁴ The list of members in Appendix C is taken from this database.

¹⁵ McElroy, 'Literary Clubs and Societies', p. 141.

¹⁶ EMS Minutes, vol. 1, p. 6.

MEMBERSHIP

The table below shows the years in which the membership of the Society was increased.

Table 2.1.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Increase</i>	<i>Total</i>
1728	--	70
1730	10	80
1731	20	100
1752	30	130
1755	20	150
1762	20	170
1763	10	180
1771	10	190
1772	10	200

The first two increases were noted as simple decisions to raise the numbers, and the election of the extra members in each case was held one week after the decision, in order to give time for a list of candidates to be prepared.¹⁷ In 1752 on 10 June, the reason for a further increase was stated in the minute of the Anniversary meeting after the account of places filled and Directors elected:

The Governor then acquainted the meeting, that as the funds of the Society were small and a great number of masters on the Establishment [i.e. paid musicians] it would therefore be necessary to inccress the number of Members, That as we had got a considerable Subscription for a new Room which must take place very soon, at which time we would be necessited to enlarge the number considerably, proposed that as there was 30 Candidat[e]s now offering and only 3 vacancys we should make choise of 17 after fitting up the vacancys, which would Extend the number to 130 members.

The meeting agreed to Choise 17 new members and order'd the Treasurer to advertise a Generall meeting for that purpose on Wednesday the 24th Instant at 5 o'clock.¹⁸

The gap of two weeks before the meeting to elect the new members was probably needed as the number of names was larger than usual. The numbers do not tally

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 13 (1730) and p. 21 (1731).

¹⁸ Ibid., vol. II, p. 47.

with the general intention to raise the membership from 100 to 130 because the exact total of subscriptions received in June 1752 was actually 112. The number of members had been allowed to rise by 12 before the official decision was taken to increase the total, because of the need for extra funds to pay for Signor and Signora Passerini and Signor Rochetti,¹⁹ and in 1750 and 1751 was already over 100.²⁰

The general meeting on 2 July 1755 was given almost the same reason for the next increase, although it was expressed in a way more complimentary to the Society:

Mr. Wedderburn Deputy Governor acquainted the meeting That their Entertainments of Late had been vastly more Elegant than formerly, and consequently much more expencive, which Brought their funds very low, If the Society wished to continue these Entertainments they must think of proper means to Incress their funds, which the Directors thought could only be done, one of two ways, Increassing their number or adding to their Subscription,

The House divided and it was carried by a Great Majority to add Twenty members to their number, at two different times, Ten on Wednesday the 16th Inst., of which the 7 performers to be admitted in the first place, and Ten more on Wednesday the 30th Instant.²¹

‘Performers’ referred to the admission of gentlemen players who were to form part of the orchestra while being full members, in continuation of the tradition of the Society as based on amateur participation. In 1762, social pressure was cited, although the cost of the new hall was also a factor. Plans were made in November 1761:

The Meeting afterwards considering that the New Hall would be ready next winter Some of the Members proposed to Augment their numbers in June next as their was a great many Gentlemen of Distinction applying and few vacancys. It was therefore agreed that their should be twenty additional members admitted in June next which should be notified publickly before the meeting in June.²²

The increase in 1763 was decided at the November meeting, when the burden of paying for the hall was more apparent, and was recorded after a discussion on

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 25. These were musicians whose time with the Society is discussed in Chapter 5.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 19 (1750) and p. 28 (1751).

²¹ Ibid., p. 70.

²² Ibid., p. 129.

salaries, which meant that the Society had to find extra money for the following year:

Butt finding a deficiency of the funds the Directors came to a Resolution to recommend to the General Meeting to add Twenty or Thirty members to their number at proper times, which they thought could be accommodat[e]d in the room and augment the funds of the Society.²³

In addition to the worry of salaries, the Directors had to find a way to remedy the deficit of almost £300 left after the building of the Hall, which was owed to the Treasurer.²⁴

The ten gentlemen admitted in 1771 were players,²⁵ and their entry was accompanied by a comment that:

As the Directors have found by long experience that the Concert stands chiefly upon having Gentlemen performers it is their unanimous opinion that at any rate they should admitt as members the ten Gentlemen whose names are inserted below, in respect that these Gentlemen are most useful performers and by being admitted every night on that accot. will croud the room no more by being members than they do at present.²⁶

The last increase in the membership in February 1772 came very quickly afterwards, and was decided at a meeting which also authorised an increase in the winter subscription of half a guinea.²⁷ Salaries for Signor Luciani the singer (£250 per year) and Ferdinando Arrigoni the leader (£73-10-0) were placing a strain on the funds²⁸ and the Society had just agreed to employ Joseph Schetky (cellist) and Signor and Signora Corri (harpsichordist and singer), making it liable for travelling expenses from London as well as future salaries. After this, the Minute Books continued to note the replacement of defaulting members, and of those who resigned or died, until the records ceased to be kept in 1795.

Election of new members was by ballot, as shown by the purchase of a ballot box in 1728.²⁹ In the Innes of Stow papers, there are four originals of the lists used during elections. Two, those from 1792 and 1796, are discussed in Chapter 8,

²³ Ibid., p. 145.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 151.

²⁵ Ibid., vol. III, p. 49.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 48-9.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 60.

²⁹ Ibid., vol. I, p. 16.

because of their bearing on the last years of the Society's life. The other two come from the years 1764 and 1772, and they differ only slightly in their format. The names of candidates for election to the Society were printed on a single sheet, and the sheet was marked with the voter's preferences according to the number of places available. (The 1772 list is a teller's copy marked with total votes for each candidate.)³⁰ The 1764 list, dated June 20, contains 17 names, of whom 8 were elected.³¹ This list is of particular interest because of its date, just after the building of St. Cecilia's Hall. Those who had subscribed to the funds for that undertaking were marked on the list of candidates with an asterisk. This could possibly have been construed as a hint from the Directors on behalf of certain names. Perhaps fortunately, the number of places available meant that all those who had subscribed to the Hall were elected, and two who had not were also able to join.

There were several lists of members produced by the Society and entered into the Minute Books, especially in the early years. They are as follows:

Table 2.2.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>
1728	69
1729-30	70
1731	100
1732	97
1744	98
1750	116
1755	150
1778	194

These tally with the formal increases in numbers, with the exception of the 1750 list, whose total anticipated the decision in 1752 to increase the numbers to over 100, as described above. There are also in existence two further lists of members, for the years 1775 and 1793. These were never entered into the Minute Books, but a copy of each original printed list is in the Edinburgh Public Library.³² These are in pamphlet form, about 8" by 4", and with sixteen pages each. They probably represent what the Society produced every time a list was made, as they are of a

³⁰ GD113/5/210/6/8.

³¹ GD113/4/208/17/1.

³² Ref. YML 28 MS.

size easy to put in a coat pocket and keep for reference. There were 194 members in 1775, and 197 in 1793.

From 1731 onwards the names in the membership lists are in alphabetical order. The first (1728) list of subscribers is in no discernible order, but is likely to be in order of subscription, and the name of Alexander Bayne, the first Preses or Chairman,³³ appears at the head, perhaps in recognition of his influence in the setting up of the Society. The 1729-30 list is also not in alphabetical order, but unlike the 1728 list it has the office-bearers' names at the beginning. Each subsequent list has the office-bearers' names and positions before the names of the members.

ANALYSIS OF MEMBERSHIP

Table 2.3.

	1728	1744	1750	1755	1775	1778	1793
Lawyers	25	35	41	59	71	75	73
Titled	5	10	15	17	25	25	17
Landowners	9	15	16	23	43	37	45
Merchants	1	7	13	21	12	8	6
Bankers	1	1	2	0	4	4	8
Civil Servants	4	1	3	5	6	8	4
Medical	3	9	9	11	6	8	11
Academic	2	2	2	0	1	2	0
Military	2	1	3	2	6	6	10
Other	0	0	2	6	3	2	6
Not known	17	17	10	6	17	17	17
Total	69	98	116	150	194	192	197

The table above analyses as far as possible the occupations of the members of the Society, taken from the names on the principal lists of membership, including the two not in the Minute Books. Occupations are given after the names in some

³³ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 4.

membership lists, but not all.³⁴ If the information was given elsewhere in the Minute books, it has been used here, as have the results of research in other documents such as the list of advocates compiled by Sir Francis Grant,³⁵ and the Innes of Stow papers. The occupational groups include the following:

Lawyers:- writers to the Signet, clerks of the same, clerks of Session, advocates and law lords;

Titled:- bearers of hereditary titles, whether principal or belonging to an heir;

Landowners:- members whose name is coupled with the name of an estate;

Merchants:- members so named in the lists;

Bankers:- members so named or known to be so;

Civil servants:- members named as Commissioner of Taxes, Excise or similar;

Medical:- members named as either doctor of medicine or surgeon – these were considered separate professions at this time;

Military:- members given a military rank in the lists;

Academic:- members known to hold a teaching post at the University of Edinburgh;

Other:- members whose given occupation forms too small a number to be a separate group, i.e. accountant (2), bookseller (3), insurance broker (1), brushmaker (1), architect (2), student (1), painter (1), and minister of the Church of Scotland (3).

Lawyers, the largest group, remained as a steady percentage of the total membership throughout the century. They formed between 35 and 39 per cent, (35 in 1744 and 39 in 1755 and 1775,) averaging 37 per cent over the entire period. It is a striking example of the predominance of this occupation in the city that, in a Society devoted to a cultural pursuit which must be assumed to have had appeal across occupational borders, one member in three over almost 80 years was a lawyer. In the course of the years there were 195 advocates as members, and 89 Writers or Clerks to the Signet. There were 83 members with the title of 'Lord', and of those at least 30 were law lords. Some of them entered the Society under their own names and were then promoted to the Bench, such as Peter Wedderburn, one of the original members, who became Lord Chesterhall, and Hew Dalrymple (Lord Drummore). Since the law was a career for people with communication skills, it is

³⁴ They were first recorded in the list for 1731, when designations such as 'advocate' 'merchant' or 'esquire' were used. This was continued in subsequent lists, although the practice was not applied to every member.

³⁵ Sir Francis J. Grant, *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1943.*, 1944.

not surprising that the members of that profession were also prominent in other circles.

The number of landowners, when viewed in the same way, shows a different pattern. From being 13 to 15 per cent of the membership in the years to 1755, the next list indicates an increase to 22 per cent, a level which dipped to 19 per cent in 1778 but returned to 22 per cent in 1793. The changing life of the landed class and its attraction to leisure and amusement in the city were powerful factors in the development of urban social conditions. Phillipson has shown that increasing wealth encouraged a more cosmopolitan outlook in this class, and a widening of cultural horizons.³⁶ A structural change in the life of the landed class, moving it from the previous focus on their rural setting to the more social atmosphere of the city, led to their spending more time in the capital, and their involvement in discussions about social manners, education and the civic humanism which preoccupied many of the debating clubs.³⁷

The percentage of titled members over the years shows another pattern. From 7 per cent in 1728, it rose to its highest point of 13 per cent in 1778, declining afterwards to 8 per cent in the last list. The sociable element of the concerts was always important, and in the last years the smaller representation of this stratum of society probably mirrored the difficulties which the Musical Society was suffering in its competition with the newer and more fashionable attractions found in the New Town. The nobility were among the first to move out of the central area near the High Street to the more spacious houses in the New Town, in order to enjoy a different kind of life away from the crowded tenements, and a style of leisure made possible by these changes.³⁸ There is more discussion of the effect these changes had on the concerts in Chapter 7.

Grouping the other occupations together to make a meaningful number, their percentage of the total membership rose from 19 per cent in 1728 to their highest in 1750 (29 per cent) and 1755 (30 per cent). Thereafter it fell to around 20 per cent in the other lists. It is perhaps significant that the rise in the percentage of middle class members took place after the settlement of the Jacobite rising when the

³⁶ Phillipson, 'Lawyers, Landowners,' esp. pp. 112-113.

³⁷ See Chapter 1.

³⁸ S. Nenadic, 'The Rise of the Urban Middle Class', in *People and Society in Scotland, vol. 1, 1760-1830*, T.M. Devine, ed., 1988, p. 121.

economy was felt to be steadier than formerly, and before the building of St. Cecilia's Hall.³⁹ The increases in membership and the subscription list which financed the building attracted more of the landed gentry and the aristocracy because the fund-raising was probably directed at those groups as being natural supporters. Once the premises were seen to be suitable and proved to be fashionable, the support of the principal groups continued.

OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY

The Articles and Regulations of the Musical Society set out the form of administration which was followed throughout the Society's life. The committee elected was entrusted in the Articles with:

the management of every matter and thing, whether touching the performance of the Musick, or the Execution of the Rules and orders of the Society, contained either in these Articles, or found afterwards to be convenient to be agreed to for the better government of the Society and its concerns.⁴⁰

The general nature of the above meant that much depended on the quality of the men who offered themselves as candidates for the governing body. The status in the community of the principal office-bearers, given the small size of Edinburgh at the time, enhanced the desirability of belonging to the Society. The Governors during the period 1728-96, the years covered by the Minute Books, were:

Alexander Bayne	1728-31
Thomas Pringle	1731-36
Lord Drummore	1736-55
Earl of Dumfries	1755-61
Earl of Haddington	1761-94
Duke of Buccleuch	1794-96

The Deputy Governors were equally well-known in the city, and some of them equally long-serving in the Musical Society:

³⁹ See C. Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830*, Manchester, 2000, pp. 64 ff., for an analysis of the strengthening of the Scottish economy in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁰ Appendix A, article 10.

John Douglas	1728-52
Peter Wedderburn	1752-56
George Drummond	1756-66
Earl of Kellie	1767-81
Sir William Forbes	1781-96

The post of Treasurer, being the most onerous, changed hands more often:

Robert Lumsdain	1728-31
James Home	1731-39
Samuel Mitchelson	1739-44
James Carmichael	1744-49
William Douglas	1749-71
John Welsh	1771-78
Thomas Sanderson	1779-96
(collector)	

GOVERNORS

Alexander Bayne served as Governor for three years, was a Director in 1735, and remained an influential member until his death in 1737. He was an advocate, the first Professor of Scots Law in the University of Edinburgh, being elected to that post in 1722 by the town council.⁴¹ He was teaching in the room above Mary's Chapel, using it either on a private basis or for his University lectures, as shown by the reference in the lease for the hall taken up by the Society in 1737. The Incorporation of Wrights and Masons, the owners of the whole building, made an agreement with the Society concerning:

the convening house ... immediately above their Laigh Hall
... as the same one lately possessed by the deceast Mr. A.
Bayne of Rires, advocate, for the use of his Coledge of
Law.⁴²

In the years before his death, Bayne had allowed the Society the use of the hall, and they began to pay him rent of £8 a year in the 1731 accounts.⁴³ This payment continued until early 1736, when a minute noted that he surrendered his tack (Scottish legal term for lease) of the hall in favour of the Society,

⁴¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴² EMS Minutes, vol. I. pp. 60-61.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

'notwithstanding a better offer.'⁴⁴ A slightly acrimonious exchange recorded the Treasurer's unwillingness to pay more than the half-year's rent from the end of Bayne's surrender. It was pointed out on Bayne's behalf that he had asked for no assistance in the first two years of the Society's occupancy, and had paid for some slight alterations to the hall to make it warmer. The Directors instructed the Treasurer to pay the whole sum for the year in view of Bayne's 'past civilities.' He was involved in the running of many of the Society's concerns, for instance the training and employment of Miss Udall, a young local singer.⁴⁵

He was probably an accomplished amateur composer as well as a performer.⁴⁶ Farmer identifies Bayne as the author of a book on thorough-bass published in Edinburgh in 1717.⁴⁷ One of his daughters became the first wife of Allan Ramsay, the painter and son of the poet and publisher. His death is recorded in the Minutes on 8 June 1737.⁴⁸

The second Governor, Thomas Pringle, held office from 1731 until his death in 1735. He was a Writer to the Signet, son of Sir Robert Pringle of Stichell, whose family was well-known in legal circles and in the Borders where their estate was situated. He became Deputy Keeper of the Signet, while his brother Walter, also a member of the Society, was made a judge with the title of Lord Newhall. Thomas's son Robert was an office-bearer in the Society at various times and elected a Director in 1743, 1748-9 and 1752. He rose to the Bench himself in 1755 with the title Lord Edgefield. The Pringle family gives a good example of the connections which often brought more than one member of the same family into the Society.

The Governor who followed Thomas Pringle was one of the longest-serving in the history of the Society. Hew Dalrymple was a founder member in 1728, a Director in 1729-31 and 1733-34 and was Governor from 1735 until his death. Like Pringle, he was from a family prominent in the Law, a grandson of Viscount Stair, the eminent lawyer, and son of a President of the Court of Session. He was admitted advocate in 1710, and through the influence of his father with the

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 50.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 44.

⁴⁶ Conversation with Helen Goodwill, regarding research conducted with Anthony Hicks into mss. possibly written by Bayne, at Mellerstain House. I am grateful to Dr. Goodwill for sharing some of her findings, now contained in her Ph.D. thesis (see Introduction, fn. 20).

⁴⁷ Farmer, *History*, pp. 311-2.

⁴⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. I. p. 53.

administration in London⁴⁹ was made a judge in 1726, taking the title of Lord Drummore from his property near Musselburgh.

He superintended the affairs of the Musical Society closely, signing all the minutes of meetings and copy letters inserted in the Minute Book as his predecessors had done. He was also a signatory to the tack of Mary's Chapel referred to above, when the Society agreed to rent the hall for 19 years, having the use of the benches and seats, 'only not to inconvenience the Wrights and Masons in their meetings annent [concerning] their own affairs.'⁵⁰ His legal commitments took a great deal of his time, and he was made a Lord of Justiciary in 1744, but his support of the Society never faltered. Ramsay describes at some length his character as a judge and as a man of his times, giving a picture of one who lived life as fully as possible.⁵¹ He mentions his work in Edinburgh and on circuit, his love of farming on his estate, and:

his seemingly boundless hospitality [which], though common in those days, was rendered more grateful by his fascinating manners and converse, which would have rendered the humblest fare delicious to any person of real taste.⁵²

To have a man of such energy and public prominence as the head of the Musical Society can only have been of benefit to it. After his death in April 1755, there appeared in the June issue of the *Scots Magazine* an announcement of the event and the following indication of the esteem in which he was held:

Having been, at the time of his death, Governor of the Edinburgh Musical Society, a concert was performed at Mary's Chapel by the gentlemen of that society on the 27th. There was a numerous company present, all in deep mourning.⁵³

The fourth Governor of the Society, William Dalrymple-Crichton, Earl of Dumfries, joined in 1750 and was Governor from 1755-61. He was not as assiduous in his attendance at meetings as previous Governors, and his signature appears in the Minute books only from his election until 1757, after which the countersigning of copies of documents was done by George Drummond, the Deputy Governor. Several explanations of this are possible: either Lord Dumfries was often out of

⁴⁹ W. Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, 1869 (3 vols), vol. I, p. 6.

⁵⁰ EMS Minutes, vol. I, pp. 60-61.

⁵¹ J. Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, 1888 (2 vols), vol. I, pp. 94 ff.

⁵² Ibid., p. 98.

⁵³ *Scots Magazine*, vol. xvii (1755), p. 316.

Edinburgh, or he had less interest in the everyday procedures of the Society than his predecessors, or he trusted George Drummond to be an able deputy. It is also possible that the general atmosphere of the Society had relaxed from the stricter attitude of the 1730s and 1740s, where every document of any kind copied into the Minute Book was always countersigned by the Governor. It is noticeable that in Dumfries's time and after, many copies are left unsigned. Lord Dumfries remained a member after leaving office and contributed the sum of 40 guineas to the subscription list for the building of St. Cecilia's Hall in 1764. He belonged to the branch of the Dalrymples descended from Viscount Stair and inherited the Stair title in 1760, a possible reason for his resignation from the Governorship. His death was noted in the Minutes of the Society in November 1768.

The Governorship passed in 1761 to Thomas Hamilton, 7th Earl of Haddington, who was elected to the Society in 1751. He was, like Drummore, Governor until his death. He succeeded to the family title in 1735, and in 1740 travelled on the Continent with his brother Charles. He was related to George Baillie of Jerviswood (a member of the Society from 1755-74), through his mother Rachel, daughter of George and Grisell Baillie of Mellerstain. (The domestic account books of this family have provided much information on the housekeeping costs and leisure activities of their time at the beginning of the century, including details of the price of musical instruments and the provision of lessons.⁵⁴) He must have brought back from his travels an awareness of contemporary musical taste, and his family circle contained many persons important in Edinburgh cultural life. He probably spent a great deal of time on his estates, however, as his record of signing the Society Minutes was extremely patchy. His Deputy Governor, George Drummond, did it for the first four years of Haddington's Governorship, and the Earl of Kellie was responsible for many of the entries until his own death in 1781.

The last Governor to appear in the records of the Society was Henry Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry (d. 1812). He was elected to the Society in 1771. The Duke, as well as being a prominent landowner with estates in several parts of Scotland, was much involved with the burgeoning banking industry in the city. He was a Director of the bank set up in the late 1760s in Ayr, independently of both the Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank, as also was

⁵⁴*The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692-1733*, 1911.

the Earl of Dumfries.⁵⁵ This venture, however, collapsed in 1772 and those concerned had to appeal to the Edinburgh bankers for rescue.⁵⁶ Among the men who helped were Sir William Forbes (see below), and James Hunter Blair (member of the Society 1763-87), two of the most influential bankers and businessmen in the city. These circumstances provide evidence of the many inter-connections between the men who formed the core of the land-owning, business and social circles of lowland Scotland, and the different circles will be considered below.

The way in which the Governors of the Musical Society carried out their duties changed over the years. Alexander Bayne was closely involved in the activities of the Society, and both Thomas Pringle and Lord Drummore also oversaw the business of the concerts personally. The Earls of Dumfries and Haddington, however, appear from the evidence of the Minute Books to have left much of the administration to their deputies, although their long membership of the Society shows that their general commitment to it cannot be questioned. By the 1750s, when Dumfries took office, the concerts were established as an important feature of the city's cultural life, and the Directors as a body perhaps were pleased to have an influential social figure at the head of the organisation, rather than a man who worked on the Society's behalf, as the previous Governors had been. The tenure of the Duke of Buccleuch was too brief for any comment to be made, but his election follows in the pattern set by Dumfries and Haddington, whose combined years in the Governorship totalled thirty nine.

DEPUTY GOVERNORS

The first to hold this position was John Douglas, surgeon, who was in office from 1728 until his death, noted in the Minutes in January 1752.⁵⁷ Little is known of him from Society records, except that he borrowed the sum of £64-4-2 from the funds in 1731, and never repaid it.⁵⁸ In the city, he was involved with George Drummond (see below) in the setting up of the Infirmary.⁵⁹ The two men were connected by their masonic membership.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ A. Cameron, *Bank of Scotland 1695-1995: a very singular institution*, 1995, p. 63.

⁵⁶ N. Munro, *The History of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 1727-1927*, 1928, p. 138.

⁵⁷ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 34.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 20. See the reference to this matter in the discussion of accounts in Chapter 3.

⁵⁹ J. Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, 1883 (3 vols.), vol. II, p. 298.

⁶⁰ See Chapter 6.

The next Deputy Governor was Peter Wedderburn, another long-serving member who was a Director at the beginning in 1728, again in 1730-31, in 1735 and 1750-51, and Deputy Governor from January 1752 until his death, noted in November 1756. He was an advocate, and took the title Lord Chesterhall on being made a judge in 1755. His son Alexander was also a member of the Society, from 1752-58.

The third Deputy Governor, George Drummond, joined the Society quite late in his life, at the age of 65, in June 1752. Drummond had been an extremely important figure in Edinburgh for many years, being a government official on the Excise Board, Treasurer of the city, on various Commissions and also elected Lord Provost of the city more times than any other man (1725-7, 1746-8, 1750-52, 1754-6, 1758-60, and 1762-4).⁶¹ He was the son of a merchant and educated in Edinburgh.⁶² He was not trained in the law, but showed an ability with calculation and became assistant to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik in Exchequer work during the time before the Union of the Parliaments, when land valuations and estimates of the National Debt were being prepared. This was work of national importance in Scotland, as it governed the monetary terms of the Union. He was appointed Accountant-General of Excise in 1707, and in 1715 promoted to be one of the Commissioners of Customs.⁶³ Because of his known adherence to the government in London, he became one of the most influential public figures in Edinburgh.

But the merits of Drummond were not confined to those of a mere accomptant...His understanding was enlightened with great and generous views of the national interests and of mankind in general.⁶⁴

Even before his first term as Lord Provost he became involved in measures to raise standards of health and education in the city. His zeal for public works was indefatigable, and after the Infirmary was started in 1738, he turned to a scheme for improvement of the housing in the city. The plans took years to complete, but he was one of the instigators of the development of the New Town, and laid the foundation stone of the North Bridge in 1763, three years before he died.⁶⁵

⁶¹ M. Wood, *The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh 1296-1932*, 1932, p. 61.

⁶² W. Baird, *George Drummond, an Edinburgh Lord Provost of the 18th century*, 1912, p. 3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ Biography of George Drummond, *Scots Magazine*, vol. lxiv (1802), p. 376.

⁶⁵ A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, pp. 15-17.

It is not surprising that in a life so full of activity, George Drummond should join the Musical Society only at a late stage in his life.⁶⁶ His appetite for social involvement was undiminished, however, and four years later he took over the Deputy Governorship on the death of Lord Chesterhall.⁶⁷ He attended meetings and often signed minutes if the Governor was absent. He had a distinctive way of initialling documents which incorporated the letters GD, sometimes the year, and the letters DG, standing for Deputy Governor (and possibly for *Deo Gratias* - a constant reminder of his deep religious commitment). When he died in November 1766, his funeral was the largest seen in the town for many years, and the Musical Society gave a concert in his honour on 19 December 1766.

A numerous and elegant assembly were present, all dressed in mourning. The most solemn silence and attention reigned during the whole performance. The mournful air that impressed every countenance strongly marked the public sense of the loss which society had sustained, by the death of a man to whom it was much indebted. Similar honours were paid to his memory by the Mason Lodge of which he had been Master.⁶⁸

There is no record of the music played on this occasion, but it is likely that it followed the pattern discussed in Chapter 6 for funeral concerts.

The Deputy Governor who succeeded him was the best-known Scottish musician of his time, Thomas Erskine, 6th Earl of Kellie. He first joined the Society as Lord Pittenweem, his title before his father's death. It is not known when he joined because the membership records in the years 1745-48 were not kept as well as they were before the 1745 Rising, and normal minuting of business was only re-established in November 1748. He was undoubtedly made a member during this time and his absence noted when he departed on the Grand Tour, from 1752 to 1756,⁶⁹ during which he went to study with the orchestra in Mannheim under Johann Stamitz, and absorbed the new techniques for which Mannheim's orchestra was becoming famous throughout Europe.⁷⁰

This experience gave Kellie the impetus to compose his own symphonies on his return to Britain, and his work was soon published by Robert Bremner in

⁶⁶ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 48.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 80.

⁶⁸ *Scots Magazine*, vol. lxiv, pp. 469-470.

⁶⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 47.

⁷⁰ N. Zaslaw, *The Classical Era*, New Jersey, 1989, Chapter VIII, 'The Mannheim Court'.

Edinburgh in 1761,⁷¹ before Bremner's move to London, and again in 1762 when he (Bremner) made them available to the wider London musical public.⁷² Kellie had returned to the Musical Society by 1756, and was a Director from 1757 until he left the Society in November 1765⁷³ - perhaps because he had not paid his subscription. There is a note in a subsequent minute that a Director was needed to replace him because he 'is gone out of the Society.'⁷⁴ It is likely that he spent some time in London. He was re-admitted in June 1767 at the time that the death of George Drummond was noted,⁷⁵ and was Deputy Governor in Drummond's place until his own death in 1781. He was never interested in his estates in Fife, inherited on his father's death while he was abroad, but spent his time in Edinburgh and London writing music, enjoying the society of his peers and eating and drinking himself into an early grave.

Still, it is certain, that of all the boisterous free livers of the age, no-one was so free or so boisterous as Lord Kellie. His rough good nature is said to have been very attractive to men younger than himself; and to them his manner of life was dangerous in a high degree, in an age when a coarse joviality was apt to be looked upon as a sign of good fellowship.⁷⁶

This judgment was made by a relative of the lawyer Henry Erskine,⁷⁷ writing at a century's distance from his subject, but its expression gives a lively idea of the Earl's character, even if the conclusion drawn might seem a little harsh. Kellie was a cousin of Henry Erskine and like him had a great fondness for puns and jokes. They both played the violin and Kellie featured more than once in the poems written by Henry, on the subject of music or high living, including this parody of *A Fragment of Sappho*, by Ambrose Philips, which was well-known at the time.

Drunk as a dragon sure is he,
The youth that dines or sups with thee;
And sees and hears thee, full of fun,
Loudly laugh and quaintly pun.⁷⁸

⁷¹ *Six Overtures in eight parts*, op. 1.

⁷² Robert Bremner was a music publisher and seller in Edinburgh, who moved to London in 1762 to expand his business. He was employed from 1756-62 by the Edinburgh Musical Society as a violinist. After he settled in London he acted as an agent for the Society, sending music and musicians to the city.

⁷³ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 163.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 165

⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. III, p. 5.

⁷⁶ Fergusson, *Henry Erskine*, p. 141.

⁷⁷ Member of the Musical Society 1783-97.

⁷⁸ Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

Like many of his fellow-members, Kellie was a freemason, and rose high in that movement to become the only person ever to have been Grand Master Mason of both Scotland and England at the same time.⁷⁹ He died before he was fifty, while returning from a visit to Spa in Belgium undertaken to try to improve his health, and the Society gave him the honour of a funeral concert on 21 December 1781. It is not known what music was played then, but it is known that he had himself composed a 'Dead March' for the funeral concert ten years earlier given in memory of Sir Robert Murray, and William Douglas, Treasurer of the Society.⁸⁰

The next and last Deputy Governor represented a return to the music-loving businessman in the person of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, who was elected to membership in 1762, shortly after becoming a partner in the banking firm of Coutts, where he had started as an apprentice. He came from a family which had been disadvantaged by the sequestration of their estate after 1745, and by the death of his father when he was four years old. He made rapid progress in the world of Edinburgh banking, and when his employers, the Coutts family, moved their business to London in 1764, he formed his own company with James Hunter (Blair),⁸¹ another member of the Society, and Sir Robert Herries.⁸² The name of the business was changed in 1773 to Sir William Forbes, James Hunter & Co., and Forbes gained great stature in the city with colleagues, becoming an influential citizen who had many charitable and cultural interests which he reinforced by his generosity.⁸³

He was a Director of the Musical Society from 1773 until its dissolution, and throughout the Minutes at this time can be seen references to the financial assistance given to the Society by Forbes' firm. When the running expenses of the concerts became heavy after the opening of St. Cecilia's Hall, with the employment of more expensive professionals and the costs of upkeep of the hall, there was an almost constant deficit which was supported by Forbes' bank.⁸⁴ The Society could thereby proceed with its business without making more than the normal demands on its

⁷⁹ See Chapter 6.

⁸⁰ Programme for the funeral concert, Edinburgh Public Libraries, ref. YML 28 MS B30382.

⁸¹ James Hunter added his wife's name of Blair to his own in 1777.

⁸² Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁸³ Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁸⁴ See Minute books, vol. IV, accounts *passim*.

membership and, looked at objectively, it became to some extent one more of the philanthropic causes supported by Forbes and others like him. His cultural interests were wide; he was a founder member of both the Society of Antiquaries (1780), and the Royal Society (1783). (The success of the Society of Antiquaries owed much to the 11th Earl of Buchan,⁸⁵ brother of Henry Erskine and himself a member of the Musical Society.) Sir William was a Freemason, a member of the same lodge as Henry Erskine and other prominent townsmen, and rose to be Grand Master Mason of Scotland in 1776-8. When he died, he was paid tributes by his peers which emphasised his unusual public-spiritedness, referring to his generosity and virtue as

unequalled perhaps in the degree of individual affection entertained for him by his friends as well as in the general esteem and respect of Scotland at large.⁸⁶

The men elected as Deputy Governors of the Musical Society possessed many practical virtues which were of service to the running of the concerts, especially in the years when the undertaking had grown beyond what was envisaged in the beginning. John Douglas and Peter Wedderburn were long-standing members, but they brought no obvious musical or organisational skills to the position. These, however, were not vital in the early years. Their successors were, in the case of George Drummond and Sir William Forbes, men who were well-versed in the administrative skills needed to run a concern which had grown to be one of the best-supported cultural assets of the city, and which had become the employer of a sizeable number of professional musicians.⁸⁷ Their time on the board of Directors overlapped that of the Earl of Kellie, who joined the board in 1757. His background in music, added to his experience in Mannheim, gave the Directors a focus which they had not had before. He and Drummond were both on the board of the Society when the plans for St. Cecilia's Hall were carried out in 1761-2, and the election of Kellie as Drummond's replacement in 1767 may be viewed as a vote of confidence from the Society in the work he did for the concerts. The position of Deputy Governor needed the practicality which Drummond, Kellie and Forbes brought to it, if the governorship was to be a 'figurehead' appointment.

⁸⁵ Grant, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 87.

⁸⁶ Notes to *Marmion*, made by Sir Walter Scott, quoted in the entry for Forbes in Chambers' *Biographical Dictionary*, 1834.

⁸⁷ See Chapter 3.

TREASURERS

At the meeting on 12 June 1728, Robert Lumsdain was listed as Treasurer of the Society. He held this post until 1730, and was a Director in 1737 for one year. His occupation is given as 'writer in Edinburgh', which meant that he was in a legal office, but that he was not a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet, in other words on a slightly lower rung of the legal ladder. (There is however some contradiction in the way the word 'writer' is used in Society documents. The full phrase 'Writer to the Signet' rarely appears, and the short form is employed both for names which are listed in the membership of the Signet,⁸⁸ and for those which are not. Robert Lumsdain's name does not appear in the Signet history.)

The second Treasurer was James Home, who was not a founder member but was elected in 1729 and took over the Treasurership in 1731. He was a Writer to the Signet (admitted in 1726), and served the Society until 1739, when his place was declared vacant.⁸⁹ After this date he inherited the baronetcy of Blackadder, which formed a part of the numerous Home family properties in the Borders. His branch was related by marriage to another important Border family, the Pringles of Stichell, one of whom (Thomas) was Governor of the Society 1731-35.

The third Treasurer was one of the Society's longest-serving and most supportive members, Samuel Mitchelson, Writer to the Signet and son of an advocate. He held several offices over the 57 years of his membership, being first made a Director in 1738, Treasurer 1739-44, then a Director again from 1744-66 and from 1771 until his death in 1788. He was Treasurer of the Signet from 1755-88 also, and must have been considered eminent in that Society, since other Writers are listed as being apprenticed to him. Two of these were connected with the Musical Society, perhaps through his influence: Thomas Tod (Writer 1755) subscribed to the fund for St. Cecilia's Hall in 1764 and William Anderson was elected to the Society in 1788.⁹⁰ In recognition of his enormous contribution to the Society, Mitchelson's death was marked by a funeral concert.⁹¹

⁸⁸*History of the Society of Writers to his Majesty's Signet*. Published by the Society, 1936. The entries of names are in alphabetical order and the book has no page numbers.

⁸⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 78.

⁹⁰ *History of the Signet*..

⁹¹ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 91.

James Carmichael, who was Treasurer from 1744-47, was another Writer to the Signet, elected to the Musical Society in 1740 and made a Director in 1741 for one year. He remained a member after leaving the board of Directors, until 1774, and died in 1781.

William Douglas was formally appointed Treasurer in 1749, succeeding William Tytler to the position. Tytler's appointment in 1747 was not noted in the Minute Book, this being a time (1745-48) when records were scanty and consisted only of accounts, but it was noted on a bill for music.⁹² Douglas took over the Treasurership officially on 10 January 1749. He was to preside over the period of greatest growth in the Society, and it is his influence which is most strongly felt from reading the minutes of proceedings at this time. He was first elected to the Society in 1737,⁹³ and his occupation given as 'merchant'. He was a Director of the Society in 1743-44, and held the office of Treasurer until his death in 1771.⁹⁴ He was responsible for the development of plans to build the Society's own concert hall, and the conducting of all the normal business, hiring and payment of musicians, both locally and from further afield. He also opened and pursued negotiations with the London organ-builder John Snetzler over the question of an organ for the new concert hall, but his own death prevented him from seeing the conclusion of that project.

The increase in the activities of the Society is reflected in the growth of detail in the Minutes during Douglas's term in office, but it was because of his death, and the need to find someone to take over his duties that there was a decision to codify what was expected of the Treasurer. Inserted after a minute of 12 September 1771 is a statement, signed by the Earl of Kellie, of what the Treasurer's duties were considered to be:

1st. And in the first place besides his calling and receiving the Annuall Subscription money, paying the Masters' sallaries and accompting annually,

His business chiefly is,

2nd. To take care that the orchestra shall always be filled up and supplied with a proper Band of Masters.

⁹² GD113/5/208/1/3, 24 June 1747, 'William Tytler named Treasurer of the Society this date' is handwritten at the bottom of the account.

⁹³ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 53.

⁹⁴ Ibid., vol. III, p. 52.

3dly. Upon the prospect of any of the Singers or Masters leaving the Society It is the bussiness [sic] of the Treasurer to look out for another to supply the vacancy and for that purpose to correspond with persons in Italy London and other parts and with precision to point out the Requisites wanted in such Singer, or Master, and the terms of engagement so as no mistakes may happen.

4th. To make out the proper Articles of engagement to be signed by each Master at their Entry.

5th. To take care that each of the Masters shall attend and perform his part according to his engagement -- and that one Master don't interfere with the part of another so as there may be no confusion in the Orchestra.

6th. As it is his business chiefly to make out the weekly plans of the musick to be performed each Friday he must know the whole music belonging to the Society & the books containing the music of which there are several hundred vollums, and how the music is ranged in them, as it is from these Books that the whole plans are made out.⁹⁵

It is most likely that the above had been the structure of the duties of the Treasurer for years before it was actually written down, since the Minutes of the 1750s and 1760s cover examples of everything mentioned in the statement. The Treasurer therefore certainly had a weekly and probably daily responsibility for the affairs of the Society, carrying on much of the business on his own and holding meetings with the other Directors whenever necessary. It is clear from correspondence that consultation with the others was desirable, as in the letter from Douglas to Robert Bremner of 22 December 1768, when Bremner was acting as a go-between with Snetzler over the organ:

Then I should wish to know the Estimate of the Charge that I may be properly authorized as I always go on in these matters by the advice of the Directors then I avoid reflections.⁹⁶

Douglas had dealings with some troublesome musicians, often being asked for an advance of salary or a sum of money to tide them over difficulties. He was carrying out the instructions of the board of Directors, who were usually generous to such as Cornforth Gilson the singer, who asked for help when he was ill in 1769,⁹⁷ or Alexander Stewart the violinist, who served the Society for many years

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 50-51.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 68.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 25.

and pleaded poverty and infirmity in 1766.⁹⁸ Problems often arose, however, when a new employee did not arrive when expected, or did not reply to a request for information. A letter from Douglas to Robert Bremner in London in February 1770 concerning the singer Signor Luciani covered such matters as copies of the contract and the fact that because of a third party's neglect the engagement had been held up. The third party was J.C. Bach, who was, according to Douglas, to have passed on a letter to Luciani. Douglas complains: 'this delay has been very inconvenient to us now when the town is at the fullest.'⁹⁹ The greatest proportion of work in the organisation of the Musical Society, the co-ordination of efforts to communicate with artists many miles away, and to arrange for their appearance in Edinburgh, all fell only on the Treasurer, who conducted all the Society's correspondence with the assistance of his clerk. According to the tasks listed above, he carried responsibility for the membership and its subscriptions, the planning of the concert programmes, the payment of employees and the recruitment of replacements.

William Douglas's devotion to the Musical Society in such a taxing position on the Board was acknowledged at his death by the holding of a funeral concert for him and for another Director, Colonel (later Sir) Robert Murray, who had held office from 1764 until his death at the same time as Douglas. A programme for this event has been preserved and gives an example of the music played on such occasions.¹⁰⁰ It is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

The Treasurer who followed William Douglas inherited an active Society in 1771. He was John Welsh, elected to membership in that year and made Treasurer on Douglas's death in November. He was a Clerk to the Signet, a position of some status, but it is interesting to consider whether it was this which led to his being elected Treasurer so soon after joining the Society. It was not the Society's custom to give such positions to newcomers. His election is recorded in the normal way with no mention of another candidate, and it is possible that the members did not wish to leave the vacancy unfilled for long, having realised with the death of Douglas how much they depended on the Treasurer. It is possible, however, that Welsh's business skills were not as high as those of his predecessor. In his years in office, Welsh was confronted with mounting financial problems, including the upkeep of St. Cecilia's Hall, negotiations with musicians (see Chapter 5), and the

⁹⁸ Ibid., vol. II, p. 172.

⁹⁹ Ibid., vol. III, p. 31.

¹⁰⁰ EPL ref. Y ML 28 ms.

long-awaited arrival of the organ for the Hall. In June 1776, he made a statement at the Anniversary meeting of the bad financial situation and pointed out that since many gentlemen members had ceased playing in the concerts, the Society was obliged to employ more Masters, an indication that the practices of the Society were being changed by forces which they could not have anticipated.¹⁰¹

Welsh had financial worries of his own ending in his personal bankruptcy, which was minuted in January 1779, but which occurred some few months before that date. Welsh left the Society with expressions of profound regret, and the Directors appointed Thomas Sanderson to be the Society's Collector. He was the last in the line of Treasurers, but never held the title himself. He had been clerk to the Society since 1750, starting at an annual salary of £5.¹⁰² In 1773 his salary rose to £10, as he assumed additional responsibilities in order to assist the Treasurer.¹⁰³ The minutes in the years after 1779 make it clear that he dealt with the collection of subscriptions, the sale of tickets to concerts and the payment of salaries. It was obviously felt by the board of Directors that a division of the Treasurer's responsibilities into two, i.e. monetary and non-monetary, was appropriate. The planning of programmes and the employment of musicians became the task of Directors, that is gentlemen members, and the finance was delegated to a man who was probably seen as a 'professional' in that field.

DIRECTORS

The shape of the governing body of the Musical Society was set in the Articles and Regulations in 1728, and only one change was made in the course of its life. The number of ordinary Directors was increased from five to seven in July 1762, after the suggestion during the Anniversary meeting on 30 June that:

...as their [sic] was now to be a greater number of members than formerly, there should be two additionall Directors joined to the former number, which would make in whole ten managers or Directors, to which the majority of the Meeting agreed;¹⁰⁴

This was the same meeting at which the total membership was increased to 170, and the Society members were perhaps aware that the completion in the following

¹⁰¹ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 109.

¹⁰² Ibid., vol. II, p. 20.

¹⁰³ Ibid., vol. III, p. 80. See Chapter 3, the discussion of John Welsh's Treasurership.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., vol. II, p. 136.

months of the new concert hall would bring more work for those in charge of the Society's affairs. Ordinary Directors did not have specific duties, but shared the supervision of the concerts on Friday evenings, the practice already mentioned which started in 1728.¹⁰⁵ If the list of those holding a Directorship over the years is analysed by occupation, it can be seen that almost exactly half of them were lawyers (31 out of 63).¹⁰⁶ This is a higher proportion than that of lawyers in the entire membership, but may be partly explained by the fact that lawyers lived in Edinburgh and were available to do the work in a way that landowners, for example, were not.

In the early years of the concerts, it was the custom for Directors to take charge of the Friday evening concerts in turn, as is clear from a decision in 1728:

Resolved.... that the Governour, Deputy Governour, Directors and Treasurer do attend two and two monthly by turns..... and that the Directors in waiting do attend each Consort night in the hall before the musick begin under the penalty of one shilling sterling.....and in Consort nights when Ladys are present, the Directors in waiting for the time are to be present in the Hall half an hour at least before the time appointed for the meeting under the penalty of half a crown...¹⁰⁷

The duties to be carried out were made more specific in 1733, in a note which referred to the planning of programmes:

...resolved that a plan be made by the Directors present at every Concert of Musick to be performed against the Concert the week thereafter, and that the plan name the person who is to play the Leading Fiddle.¹⁰⁸

There is no other reference to this part of the Directors' responsibilities, but the request for a plan in advance perhaps arose because of a lack of co-ordination from week to week. It is not known whether the original monthly rota was still in force by 1733. Apart from these instances of planning, Directors had no specific responsibilities laid down, and it seems that their main function was to attend the meetings where Society business was discussed. The size of the governing group was important when questions of finance were decided, as the turnover of the Society and the sums of money paid to soloists grew ever larger. The Society had to be satisfied that their affairs were being carried out responsibly, and were not in the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., vol. I, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix L for a complete list of Directors of the Society.

¹⁰⁷ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

hands of too few people. Specialist skills were occasionally called upon, however, as when Dr. Gregory was asked to enquire into Cornforth Gilson's illness and report back to the Directors.¹⁰⁹ More particular duties were taken on by individual Directors on the division of the Treasurer's responsibilities mentioned above.¹¹⁰

The original arrangement whereby two Directors attended on a concert night was made when the number of musicians and the size of the audience were both much smaller than in 1762. The need for two extra Directors in 1762 indicates that the previous number of five was not thought sufficient to supervise the increase in membership and attendance at concerts, especially when the new hall was available. The whole undertaking of the Musical Society had changed considerably, and the increase in the number of Directors was one of the few outward indications of willingness on the part of the Society to adjust its procedures to manage that change.

A personal account of a Director's attitude to the Musical Society is found in the writings of Henry Mackenzie, who himself recorded that he became a member of the Musical Society in about 1778.¹¹¹ His many comments on his failing memory here prove to be apposite, since the lists of the Society have him as joining in 1771. He was a Director from 1788 until records cease in 1796, and his reminiscences are a valuable source of contemporary ideas on culture, fashion and social activities. They refer to various times in the life of the 'Gentlemen's Concert', as he called it, 'because the original plan was that the orchestra should consist chiefly of amateurs'.¹¹² He represents the typical gentleman member of the Society, being both a lawyer and a successful writer.

The concerts of the Society were well suited to the entertainment of businessmen at the end of a working week, because they started at a relatively early hour of the evening, and required only what Mackenzie calls a 'common dinner dress'¹¹³ for admission. When he was a Director he served with Lord Haddington, Sir William Forbes, Samuel Mitchelson and William Tytler, the last two being

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., vol. III, p. 25.

¹¹⁰ The duties of individual Directors in taking over the Treasurer's functions are discussed in Chapter 3.

¹¹¹ Thompson, ed., *Anecdotes and Egotisms*, p. 77.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 76.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 77.

named as 'uncommonly good performers on the German flute'.¹¹⁴ He gave several reasons for the demise of the Society, including the change in fashion which attracted people to the New Town and the activities there, the carelessness of the leader (Girolamo Stabilini) in keeping up the musical standards, and the inconvenience of the situation of St. Cecilia's Hall after the building of the South Bridge.¹¹⁵ These and other reasons are discussed in Chapter 7.

FAMILY AND OTHER CONNECTIONS AMONG THE MEMBERSHIP

There is much evidence in the Society Minutes of different members of the same family being introduced to membership. The list of members in Appendix B shows how many surnames were shared and, although not all were related to each other, there were enough who were for the point to be made.

Taking the Dalrymple family as an example, Lord Drummore's fourth son, David Dalrymple, later Lord Westhall (1719-1784), was a member of the Society and a Director from 1757-61 and 1766-75. Like his father, he was a member of the Masonic Lodge Canongate Kilwinning and an important public figure in the city. Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes (1726-1792), was a member of the Musical Society from 1755 until his death. He was a younger cousin of Drummore and son of Sir James, 2nd baronet of Hailes. His working life was similar to that of many in his family; he was admitted as an advocate in 1748 and raised to the Bench in 1766. Unlike Drummore, however, Hailes wrote on many subjects and he was part of the literary circle which grew up in the 1760s under the leadership of Henry Mackenzie. Hailes was one of the authors of essays which appeared in the *Mirror* magazine, and was an admired antiquarian.¹¹⁶ His continued membership of the Society for so many years indicates that men of his intellectual calibre felt as much at home there as they did in the many other clubs and organisations in the city at the time. Hailes was perhaps especially attracted to the Musical Society because of his interest in old songs and poetry. He corresponded for some years with the English writer Thomas Percy who, when he published a miscellany entitled *Reliques* in 1765, acknowledged a debt to Dalrymple for having provided him with 'many Scottish poems and

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

curious and elegant remarks.'¹¹⁷ The latter himself published in 1770 *Ancient Scottish Poems*, a selection of old ballads and poems taken from the Bannatyne ms., the same as that used by the poet Allan Ramsay in 1724 for his collection *Evergreen*.¹¹⁸

Hailes' younger brother John Dalrymple (1734-1779) was a member of the Society from 1755-75. He was a cloth-dealer in the city, Lord Provost in 1770-72 and was also a Director of the Royal Bank of Scotland from 1773 until his death.¹¹⁹ Other Drummore cousins who were members or supporters of the Society were:

John Dalrymple (1715-1796), advocate, who was a member from 1740-1761, though with a gap, as he was re-elected in 1755. He succeeded to the estate of Bargeny through his mother and took the surname Hamilton;

Sir Hew Dalrymple of Castletoun, who was MP for Haddington-shire, and a member from 1735 until some time before 1750;

Charles Dalrymple, grandson of the first baronet Dalrymple of North Berwick and cousin of Lord Drummore, was a member from 1762-72, and took as his second wife the widow of yet another relative, Colonel Campbell Dalrymple.¹²⁰ The latter had been Governor of Guadeloupe and was a member of the Society from 1764-66.

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik was a member of the Society from 1729 until his death in 1755. His place as an important composer in the history of music in Scotland is being re-established by recent championship of his work.¹²¹ He never held office in the Society, but his brother Hugh, a merchant in Edinburgh, was a Director in 1732-34 and again in 1736-49. William Tytler's son, Alexander, was a member of the Musical Society for some years, being included in the list for 1778, and was appointed a Director in place of John Russell in 1789. He served until the winding-up of the Society. There are twenty eight members named as 'younger' in the complete membership list, and some were obviously introduced by their fathers. William Nisbet of Dirleton was a member from 1742-83, and his son, also William, joined in 1771. Robert Oliphant of Rossie was elected in 1743, and his son

¹¹⁷ *The Percy letters*, A.F.Falconer, ed., Louisiana State University Press, 1954, p. v.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

¹¹⁹ Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

¹²⁰ Anderson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 6.

¹²¹ Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60; Purser, *Scotland's Music*, pp. 164-72.

James joined in 1789. William McDowal of Castle Semple joined in 1750 and introduced his son in 1777.

Marriage as well as blood kinship linked many of the Society's members. There are more than twenty relationships of this kind in the membership list, and a few only will serve as examples. The Treasurer mentioned above, James Carmichael, married a daughter of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. A daughter of George Lockhart of Carnwath was married to James, 5th Earl of Moray. Sir Robert Anstruther married a sister of the 6th Earl of Kellie – all these men were members of the Society. Henry Erskine, elected to the Society in 1783, was married in 1772 to Christian Fullerton, who was passionately fond of music and a pupil of the singer Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci,¹²² who taught her the lute. Her musical antecedents were many - her grandfather Dr. Francis Pringle was a member of the Musical Society in its early days, and both her father and her uncle were members.

Aside from these connections, there were circles of interest and business which brought together groups of men and led them to be in each other's company. There was a clear common interest between those who enjoyed music and those who attended the dancing Assemblies, for example, and the Society had among its members at various times twelve who acted as Directors of these events, including Lord Drummore, Sir William Forbes, William Douglas, Gavin Hamilton, and Sir Gilbert Elliot.¹²³

A larger network which linked a number of members of the Society was freemasonry. The Society met, until the building of St. Cecilia's Hall, in property owned by one of the Edinburgh lodges, and Appendix N shows the names of freemason members of the Society by their lodges. The final list in this appendix also shows members of the Society who were Grand Master Masons in Scotland. Chapter 6 has an account of the musical and social relationships between freemasonry and the Musical Society.

The banking business and its growth provided another set of links between members of the Society, along with evidence that commercial life in Scotland was by the 1730s recovering some strength. The Bank of Scotland was the first to be

¹²² See Chapter 5 for an account of his career with the Musical Society.

¹²³ J. Jamieson, 'Social Assemblies of the Eighteenth Century', in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. XIX (1933), pp. 31-91.

established, in 1695,¹²⁴ with the Royal Bank of Scotland following in 1727, and through the century both banks shared the services of many men who were in the Society. The Coutts family of Edinburgh, three of whom were members, contributed to the subscriptions for St. Cecilia's Hall, and one son, Thomas, went to London to be agent for the Bank of Scotland. The connection between Sir William Forbes, and the Coutts family has already been mentioned. Beaumont Hotham, a member in the first years (1729-42), was a Director of the Royal Bank and its Governor from 1743-50 and then 1756-61. Peter Wedderburn, Lord Chesterhall, was Deputy Governor of the Bank of Scotland from 1750-53. The Royal Bank had a board of Directors and also one of what they termed Extraordinary Directors; over seventy members of the Society were at various times on one of these boards, for example Adam Fairholm, merchant, who was a Director of the Royal Bank in 1760-61, and William Grant, Lord Prestongrange, who was an Extraordinary Director from 1740 until his death in 1764.

The Law, the University and other professions provided a strong bond for their members, while sporting activities also linked them in intersecting circles in a small city where in every aspect of their lives, men met friends and acquaintances. The Edinburgh Skating Club shared forty members with the Musical Society,¹²⁵ and there was a group of lawyers who went bowling together in Heriot's Gardens.¹²⁶

A civic responsibility shared by fourteen members of the Musical Society was participation in the system of Trained Bands, a method of policing the city streets first set up in 1580.¹²⁷ Sixteen companies were given areas of the city to patrol, with a Captain in charge. This became an honorary position, and by the eighteenth century the Society of Trained Bands had become a social club for the commissioned ranks, to be considered alongside the clubs of the previous chapter. John Douglas was appointed their Doctor in 1737,¹²⁸ and Patrick Steil, in whose tavern the Musical Society had played, was one of the Captains.¹²⁹ Other members of the Musical Society who were also officers in the Trained Bands were Adam Fairholm, William Creech, Andrew Bonar and Gilbert Innes.

¹²⁴ Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

¹²⁵ M. Elliott, 'The Edinburgh Skating Club, 1778-1966,' in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 33 (1969), pp. 96-136.

¹²⁶ Thompson, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

¹²⁷ W. Skinner, *The Society of Trained Bands of Edinburgh*, 1889, preface.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹²⁹ M. Stuart, *Old Edinburgh Taverns*, London, 1952, p. 59.

OVERVIEW OF MEMBERSHIP

The place of the Musical Society at the forefront of social and cultural life in Edinburgh throughout its existence was supported by the quality of men who were in charge of its progress. There was great eminence reflected on a body which had at its head men of the aristocracy, as the last three Governors were, or at the top of the legal profession (e.g. Lord Drummorie, Peter Wedderburn). The number of lawyers reflected the strength of that occupation in the city, but the presence of businessmen and politicians among the office-bearers (e.g. Sir William Forbes, George Drummond) broadened the appeal of the Society. In addition the skills and contacts of these men helped the administration of the concerts, as mentioned above in the case of Sir William's financial support. It is not known how much the principal office-bearers took part in the music-making, although Forbes Gray states with no supporting proof :

The Governors of the Society ... were all men of high musical talent. ...some of the Governors took their place beside the other gentlemen performers.¹³⁰

Despite this comment, the extent of the musical contribution of the Governors and Deputies cannot be judged, except in the light of the general principle that the Society was formed in order for like-minded gentlemen to be able to play together.

The Earl of Kellie, however, was recognised at the time as an outstanding musician. Certainly the music he wrote was popular both during his lifetime and after his death, and his presence on the governing body of the Musical Society must have stimulated its activities, and benefited the concert-going public. No other office-bearer or indeed member of the Musical Society reached anywhere near his eminence. During his time as Deputy Governor, from 1771 onwards, he was the senior Director at meetings, because of the frequent absence of Lord Haddington, as shown in the Minute Book, so it is very likely that he had a strong influence on the content of concert programmes, and led the taste for the music played, in particular for the German school of Cannabich, Johann and Carl Stamitz, and Richter. He was also very probably responsible for the addition to the Society's library of music of works by Holzbauer, Hasse and Jomelli, since it is likely that he

¹³⁰ Forbes Gray, 'Musical Society', pp. 197-8.

had met their music in Mannheim.¹³¹ It may be concluded that from a purely musical perspective, Kellie was the single most important person in the direction of the Society, and that he himself benefited from having the Society musicians to compose for, and to play his works.¹³²

The small number of principal office-bearers throughout the life of the Society indicates the loyalty which the Society obtained from them, and the same can be seen in the length of service of some Directors, such as Samuel Mitchelson (1738-88), William Tytler (1742-92), Alexander Wight (1768-93), Robert St. Clair (1770-1796) and Archibald Grant (1768-93). This loyalty may in part have been because the Musical Society was the only club of its kind in the city, and was therefore the only place where an amateur player of any talent could find others with whom to make music. Private gatherings in homes continued, but the repertoire of the concerts expanded as the number of players and the space in which they played also grew. The closeness of the members to each other in business and daily life, and their inter-relationships, as discussed above, were also important in binding them together in their appreciation of the music they made. Although there are no traces of this, it may be imagined that there were discussions of concert programmes in the days after a performance, when members met on other matters in the close confines of the city's law and business premises.

To be a member of the Musical Society was socially desirable, as can be judged by the constant demands for places, and it was not difficult to keep members when the subscription was raised. Forbes Gray commented that the profile of the membership was 'entirely representative of the nobility and gentry of Scotland', and this can be said to be at least true in part – those groups were represented, but they did not account for the entire membership of the Society. He further stated that:

The aristocracy were then the only class to whom aestheticism in all its forms made an appeal, and not to be a member of the Musical Society was to come perilously near social ostracism.¹³³

Neither half of this sentence seems to stand up in the light of the membership figures and analysis above. There were many representatives of

¹³¹ Zaslav, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹³² See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the place of his music in the life of the Society.

¹³³ Forbes Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

classes other than the nobility and they increased in proportion over the years. The constant large numbers of lawyers, most of them born not to the aristocracy but to the growing class of middle-ranking landowners, also belies the assumption made by Forbes Gray.¹³⁴ As for the remark on social ostracism, this seems to be a personal belief unjustified by contemporary writing. The table of membership shows that as the century progressed, the number of members from groups other than lawyers increased. The rise in disposable income from trade and the growing desire for leisure activities among the middle class meant that they were more able to afford membership of a society which charged a relatively high sum for the privilege of membership.

The private nature of the Society and its elections meant that it might have been seen by an outsider as elitist. Forbes Gray certainly thought so:

Today [i.e. in 1933] the prevailing notion [of a concert] is that good music should be brought within the reach of all capable of appreciating it. No such humanitarian principle animated the promoters of the weekly concert in St. Mary's Chapel. The Society was a close corporation, the strict preserve of the nobility and gentry of Scotland. Its privileges might be enjoyed only by those whose social status was above suspicion.¹³⁵

Forbes Gray seems here to be imposing the artistic standards of the twentieth century on the proceedings of the eighteenth, and is too harsh in his conclusion. The Musical Society was of its time, and any judgements on it must be made with that in mind. Houston uses the Society's restrictions on admission (i.e. payment of subscriptions as a condition of membership, restriction on entry of visitors to concerts), as evidence of barriers against cultural and social change. These barriers were being constantly refined or changed as social conditions shifted, for example as more merchants were able to afford the subscriptions or the cost of tickets to concerts, and other means had to be found to keep the privacy of the Society.¹³⁶ The analysis of membership in the section above shows that increasingly the merchant class were able to obtain admission over the years, but that the sheer weight of numbers of lawyers in the city kept up their representation, and provided

¹³⁴ Phillipson, 'Lawyers, Landowners', pp. 106-108, discusses the alteration in the balance between these two classes which opened up the purchase of estates to other than the aristocracy.

¹³⁵ Forbes Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 195. Forbes Gray repeats a common mistake, that of inserting 'St.' before the name of the building.

¹³⁶ R. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh 1660-1760*, 1994, p. 217 and p. 222.

a continuous thread over all the years of the Society's life. This helped to preserve the original outlook of the Society well into its later years, that is its desire to have its members participate in the music-making, and to keep the concerts only for the benefit of members, apart from the Ladies' concerts and the oratorio performances. It is very likely that this strong link with its past became too much a feature of the Society in its later years, when it prevented any real changes in its repertoire or its ways of raising money, ultimately contributing to its ending.

Burchell points out that apart from ability to pay the subscription or any other social restriction, musical ability also acted as a filter to membership.¹³⁷ The convention of playing in the orchestra meant that in the early years at least, members had to reach an acceptable standard on their instrument. Comments in Sir John Clerk's memoirs show how he worked to improve his own playing, despite his personal reservations as to its place in the life of a gentleman.¹³⁸ He was only one of many Scotsmen who studied abroad at the time, and the experiences which they brought back must have had an influence on the Society. His enthusiasm for Italian music and his lukewarm reaction to what he heard in France¹³⁹ may have helped forge the allegiance of the Society through the century to Italian composers, at least until it was tempered some thirty years later by the return of the Earl of Kellie from Mannheim, and the introduction of the newer style of Stamitz, Filtz and others, and of Kellie himself.

Although ladies were not members of the Musical Society, their influence on it should be considered. George Thomson lists some of the young women who attended the Ladies' concerts towards the end of the century, many of whom were daughters of members or who were to marry members.¹⁴⁰ In the years from about 1750, the programmes for these concerts were oratorios, as far as can be ascertained. But in earlier times, when Ladies' concerts were much more frequent than three times a year, it is interesting to speculate whether ladies, often members of the players' families, might have made some contribution to the choice of programme.

¹³⁷ Burchell, 'Polite or Commercial Concerts?' p. 34.

¹³⁸ 'In both of these [i.e. study of theory and playing the harpsichord], I made perhaps more advance than became a gentleman.' *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 1676-1755*, J. Gray, ed., 1892, note, p. 15. Clerk repeated this opinion when referring to his brother Hugh's playing of the cello: 'He played ... with all the perfection of the greatest Master, and rather too well for a Gentleman.' (Ibid., p. 222.)

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 28, enthusiasm for the music he heard in Italy; p. 34, his opinion that the French were better at dancing than at making music.

¹⁴⁰ Quoted in Chambers, *Traditions*, pp. 251-2.

Since the concerts were a valuable source of income to the Society, efforts might have been made to ensure that the repertoire played was one which would attract a female audience. The example of the wife of Henry Erskine shows that women were not only an audience, but could also be knowledgeable performers. Many of them took lessons from the professionals employed by the Society, and this provided another network by which opinions on different works might be expressed. There are many references in letters about employment with the Society which mention teaching as an addition to the salary offered for work in the concert,¹⁴¹ and the indication that Mrs. Henry Erskine was taught by Tenducci supports the idea that members of the Society and their families took advantage of the professional presence in the city. Research into family papers and diaries may in the future provide clues to the influence of women on the concerts.

Because the Musical Society provided a meeting place for different social and cultural forces, involving men and women from diverse circles in the city as players and audience, this chapter has dealt in some detail with the personalities who contributed to the foundation and growth of the concerts. The next chapter will describe how those concerts were presented week by week, with discussion of administrative and financial matters.

¹⁴¹ E.g. EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 87, a letter from the Treasurer regarding the conditions offered to Madame Mazzanti (Nov. 1757), '...the advantage of teaching would be very considerable.'

CHAPTER THREE

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CONCERTS

EMPLOYMENT OF PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS

Because the Musical Society began with a small number of paid players, the burden of administration was at first not heavy. In the years 1728-30, a total of six musicians were engaged, five instrumentalists and one singer. They were all musicians who lived in Edinburgh, and one of them, William McGibbon, was the Society's first leader, in the sense that he was paid more than the other string players, although not given the title in the early years. He was also a composer of some note, whose music was bought by the Society on several occasions,¹ and he sold fiddle strings to the Society, an indication that the professionals made their incomes from every branch of the music business.²

In the next ten years, the number of paid players and singers increased to fifteen, with the introduction of the first foreigners – Baldassare Benedetto and Christina Maria Avolio (singers), and Francesco Barsanti (flautist), Signor Pulli and Signor Pasqualino (string players), and Christian Reich (bassoonist).³ There is a mention of the castrato Senesino⁴, the great Handelian performer, as recommending Signor Pulli, but no record of him being employed himself.⁵ McGibbon served as principal violin until his death in 1751, and was supported by Alexander Stewart, Adam Craig (died 1742) and John McPherson (son of William who died in 1731). Others were engaged sometimes for only a season, e.g. Signor Pasqualino who played for the concerts in 1739-40,⁶ or Signor Pulli, who played only in 1734.⁷ The first mention of organised plans for programmes has been made in the previous chapter - the duty of the Directors was to organise the programme for the following week and to appoint the leader. The responsibility of choosing items for inclusion each week was therefore shared among the Directors, and the position of leader was not given unquestionably to a particular player, although McGibbon was the best and most senior of the original employees. Farmer calls him 'leader' and quotes William Tytler's approving comments on McGibbon's playing and on his

¹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 6, p. 18.

² Ibid., p. 26.

³ See Appendix D for a full list of all professional musicians employed by the Society, with the dates of their employment.

⁴ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 32.

⁵ Farmer, *History*, p. 311, says he was 'a vocal star' of the concerts, but provides no basis or reference for the statement.

⁶ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 83.

⁷ Ibid., p. 45.

compositions.⁸ He certainly gave continuity to the Society's group of players with the length of his service.

The scope of the Society's activities was not yet too large to control easily, but one of the most constant problems of later years first appeared in 1734. A minute gave permission to Benedetto:

to go for six weeks to any part of the country he pleases computing from the first of August next; but that hereafter neither he nor any of the other Masters be allowed to be absent without leave from the Directors in a meeting of the Directors, and even when such leave is given that there shall be a stop of their salaries in proportion to the time of their absence.⁹

There are examples of singers in particular throughout the life of the Society who took advantage of the pressure which they could bring to bear on the Directors to have leave to earn money elsewhere, or to bargain for a rise in their salary, because they saw prospects of attractive work outside Edinburgh.¹⁰ This anxiety over musicians' conduct, and the Society's means (or lack of them) to regulate such conduct, arose early in its history as the Society tried hard to attract superior performers, thereby raising the expectations of their audiences, and putting the Society in a position where the competition with London was always too expensive for it. No amount of threats could make a performer fulfil his or her contract, if the lure of other work was stronger.

Much of the correspondence copied into the Minutes is on the subject of terms of contract, and the bargaining about salary, leave and benefit concerts. A case in point was the exchange of letters between the Directors and one Signor Callani of York in 1734. He was offered a post at an annual salary of £40,¹¹ but it is clear from the Society's next letter to him that this amount was not enough. They raised their offer to 40 guineas, and were determined not to exceed this sum. However they agreed that Signor Callani might have the months of August, September and October to himself.¹² The musician in question never came to Edinburgh, possibly to the relief of the Directors, as on the same page in the Minutes as the first proposal to Callani, there was a note of the necessity for the Society to borrow £60 in order to pay current salaries.

⁸ Farmer, *op. cit.*, p.331. (In his account of the St. Cecilia's Day concert held in Edinburgh in 1695, William Tytler says that McGibbon 'was considered an excellent performer' and that his compositions 'were esteemed good.' 'Of the Fashionable Amusements', p. 510.)

⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 42.

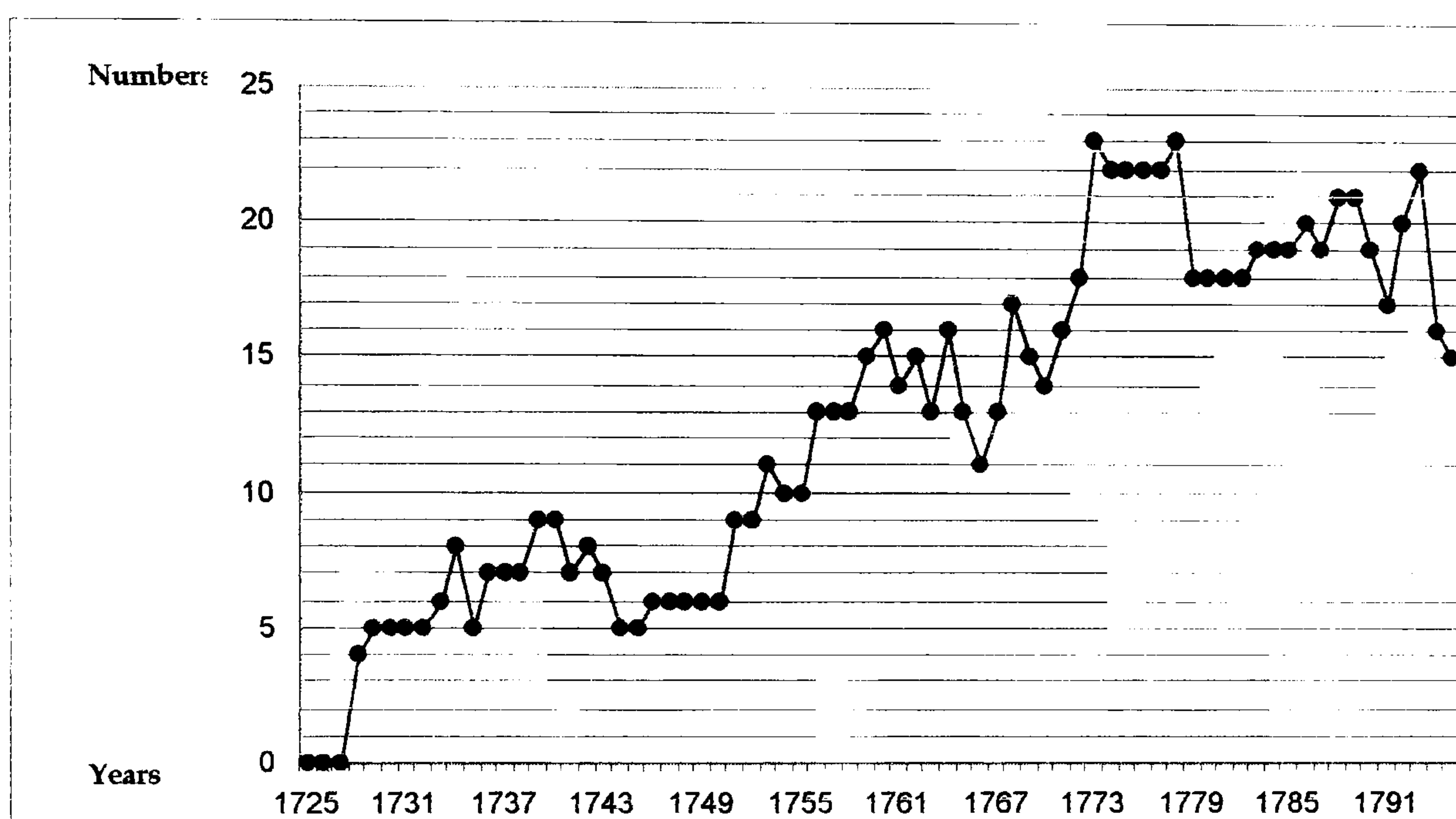
¹⁰ See Chapter 5.

¹¹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p.42.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

As the concerts became more popular and demand for membership increased the funds available, the number of professional musicians employed grew. The following graph shows the pattern of growth. The information on which it is based comes from the yearly accounts, and includes players who were engaged for only one season, if they were named in the accounts at the end of that season.

Table 3.1. Number of musicians employed 1728 – 1795.



The graph indicates the leap in numbers in the years 1751-60, and the sustained higher level until the last years of the Society's existence. The Society started with four players in 1728 and ended in 1795 with 15, but in the decades of the 1770s and 1780s over 20 were employed. The increase in the 1750s can be accounted for by the social circumstances in the city after the disturbances caused by the Rebellion of 1745-46. The next decade was a time when the possibility of a return to power of the Stuarts was finally banished by the defeat of Prince Charles Edward, and the political future of Edinburgh (and Scotland) could be regarded as more settled. These years were also ones of financial stability for the Musical Society.¹³ The continued high number of players after the building of St. Cecilia's Hall arose for reasons which are discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 7.

The composition of the orchestra was never set out in the papers of the Society, but with the support of the account given by Arnot (see below, pp. 65), which refers to the later years of the Society, ideas may be gained from consideration of the repertoire and from comments in the accounts or in minutes

¹³ See Appendix E.

about individual players. Of the musicians whose instrument is known, the vast majority were violinists and other string players. In the list of musicians employed,¹⁴ 43 were violinists and at least five were cellists. The general trend, once the number of professional players was sufficient, was to have several Masters¹⁵ on violin and the lower strings, i.e. viola (known as 'tenor' in the early part of the century), cello and double bass. The Society owned a set of kettledrums sold to it by one of the Masters, Francesco Barsanti, in 1743 when he was leaving the city, but there is no record of names of those who played them.¹⁶ The only wind instrument customarily played by amateurs was the flute, and professionals were employed to play oboe, trumpet, bassoon, French horn and, later in the century, clarinet. The orchestra was sometimes augmented by members of the regimental band from Edinburgh Castle, and two receipts for their attendance list the instruments played by them.¹⁷ On 3 May 1768, eight men of the 23rd Regiment were paid for playing in the concerts from 5 January to 29 April:

2 bassoons 12 nights at 2/6 £3

2 horns and 2 claronets [sic] 1 night 10/-

29 Apr – 8 musicians horns, claronets and bassoons £1

The music played during this period included Handel's overture to *Sosarmes*, which is scored for bassoons, and *Periodical Overture* no. 17, by the Earl of Kellie, scored for clarinets or oboes with bassoons and horns.¹⁸ In March 1770, men of the 43rd Regiment were paid for one rehearsal and three concerts for different combinations of horn, clarinet and bassoon. Standard instrumentation for the *Periodical Overture* series was in eight parts – two oboes (sometimes flutes or clarinets), two horns, first violin, second violin, viola and bass (consisting of cello, double bass and possibly bassoon).¹⁹ The Society clearly depended at this time on the army players to supplement their own resources.²⁰

¹⁴ See Appendix D.

¹⁵ The term 'Masters' was used in the accounts until 1740 to denote all professional players, but as they became more numerous, they were named individually. The word was used also in the Minutes to refer to the paid players as a group.

¹⁶ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 98.

¹⁷ 1768 – GD113/5/209/3/16/2; 1770 – GD113/5/209/5/16.

¹⁸ Overture to *Sosarmes* – 15 April 1768; *Periodical Overture* 17 – 29 April (Plan Books). The *Periodical Overtures* formed a series of overtures in eight parts published from 1763 to 1783 by Robert Bremner after he established his music publishing business in London. The works were issued at first every month, and then at less regular intervals, and enabled musical societies to build a collection of overtures not previously published in Britain. See Appendix K for a full list of these works, and the dates of purchase by the Edinburgh Musical Society.

¹⁹ D. Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and the *Periodical Overture*,' in *Soundings*, no. 7, 1978, pp. 63-84.

²⁰ In his article in *Early Music*, XXVIII/4, November 2000, pp. 577-595, 'The Colchester Partbooks', Peter Holman describes the repertoire of the Colchester Musical Society with evidence from surviving partbooks which have many items in common with the repertoire

As for their own employees, there were fourteen wind players in the musicians' list, the most numerous being trumpeters (five), followed by bassoonists (four), flautists and oboists (two), and one French horn player, but it would be mistaken to assume that any of the professional musicians limited themselves to only one instrument. Because much of their livelihood was centred on teaching, all the players were capable of playing several instruments, and could move from their principal one if need be in the Society concerts. James Hamilton, who sang in oratorios and trained the boys' choir from 1771 to 1783, was known in the city as a teacher of church music, singing, flute, guitar and harpsichord.²¹ He came to Edinburgh from Ripon cathedral, so possibly played the organ as well. His was a typical career, dealing with not just one family of instruments, such as strings or keyboard. The necessity was to spread ability as widely as possible, as it was not easy to make a living otherwise.

The employees of the Musical Society, therefore, covered a larger number of instruments than is at first apparent in the accounts and papers, which raises difficulties in any attempt to define closely the composition of the orchestra. The other variable for which there is no clarification is the number and instruments of the gentlemen members who were playing on any occasion. The contemporary description by Hugo Arnot of the orchestra dates from the mid-1770s:

The band consists of a *maestro di capella* [leader], an organist, two violins, two tenors, six or eight *ripienos*, a double, or *contra*-base, and harpsichord; and occasionally two French horns, besides kettledrums, flutes and clarinets.²²

The 'ripienos' were the accompanying strings who had no solo parts to play, and these places would have been taken by the gentlemen, with the possible exception of the Earl of Kellie, who was talented enough to play alongside the professionals. By this time in the Society's existence, however, complaints were being made by the Treasurer that finances were strained because the gentlemen no longer wished to play, and that in consequence too many professionals were needed to keep up the standards of the concert. John Welsh, Treasurer from 1771 to 1778, prepared a 'memorial' to the Directors, giving them the state of the Society's funds in January 1777:

in Edinburgh. He mentions in particular Handel's *Concertos* opp. 3 & 4, and sets of overtures in standard 8-part format (with oboes and horns) as described above for the *Periodical Overtures* (p. 591). There is evidence for the participation of the local military in Edinburgh to help perform these pieces which is lacking for the moment in Colchester.

²¹ Cranmer, 'Concert Life', p. 135.

²² Arnot, *History*, p. 291.

When the Treasurer entered into office the whole charges of the Band which consisted of 16 performers amounted to £489-9-2. It now consists of 22 performers the salarys to whom amount to £616-17-6.²³

He had the previous year pointed out the most important financial problem:

... That many Gentlemen formerly attended the Orchestra but within these five years they have given over assisting with their performances which obliged the Treasurer (to whose charge it was committed to have the Orchestra properly filled at all times), to employ many masters...²⁴

The amateur players had taken a sufficient part in the orchestra for the decline in their willingness to play to have a very harsh effect on the Society's funds. Concern over this trend was also seen earlier in the decade, in 1771, when a meeting of the Directors took the decision on membership already referred to, to admit ten gentlemen players. The Minute went on to say:

and the Directors further propose that when any of these ten Gentlemen die or leave the Society, the vacancy thereby occasioned shall only be filled up by an approved performer [i.e. a gentleman player].²⁵

The phrasing of this decision shows that the Society's view of itself had not markedly changed since its foundation. The Directors still wished the original *raison d'être* of the concerts to be continued, the opportunity for amateur musicians to take part in the music-making being as important as the public nature of their events. The realisation that this would also be of economic help meant that they recommended it the more strongly to the membership. From the statement above, it is clear that the ten gentlemen were willing to pay the subscription and to be available to play, and the proposal was carried 'by a great majority' at the meeting two weeks later.²⁶ The ten names included two of the most important office-bearers in the later years of the Society, Gilbert Innes of Stow and John Russell jun., and from the statement of the Directors discussed above, it may be seen that the two gentlemen represented the ideal of the Society, they being gentlemen, players and servants of the Society. The conflict between professional and amateur players had become very real for the Society by this time, however, and there is no further record of whether the Directors felt that the measure described above brought any benefit.

²³ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 117.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 109.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 49.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 53.

MUSIC AND INSTRUMENTS.

The music used by the orchestra was kept by the Society, and the first proposal for an index of it was in December 1728, when:

... the Governour and Directors recommend to Mr. Douglas to prepare a compleat Catalogue of all the Musick belonging to the Society, and to prepare a proper repository for keeping the same.²⁷

The chest for holding the music was paid for in the accounts for 1733-34,²⁸ but there is no trace of an index made at that time. A librarian was appointed (Alexander Stewart) in 1731 to look after the music, and to tune the stringed instruments on the evenings of the concerts.²⁹ He was also asked to make an inventory of the music, as is apparent from a minute of 1736, enquiring why the list had not been made.³⁰ This entailed the collecting in of music which had been borrowed by members as well as professionals, and the Directors took the point seriously enough to put up notices in the hall at concert time. Before the days of mass printing of music, any copies were a precious resource to the Society, but the problem of missing copies did not go away when commercially printed music became more easy to obtain later in the century. In 1790 a list of borrowers over the previous two years with items still outstanding included the names of William Tytler and John Russell (Directors), Maxwell Shaw and Pietro Urbani (musicians), and also Mr. and Mrs. Corri, who were no longer employed in the concerts.³¹

The post of librarian was an important one, as the collection of music was constantly growing, but there is no continuous record of the names of those who took on this duty. When it was noted, it was always an employee, not an amateur member. John McPherson was in charge in 1745,³² and John Watlen in 1788.³³ Watlen was also given the task of recording late-comers and absentees among the players, so that deductions might be made from their salaries.³⁴

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 10.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³¹ GD113/4/164/44.

³² EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 107.

³³ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 94.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Over the years the Society became the owner of various instruments, the first of which was a harpsichord belonging to the recently deceased Lord Colville.³⁵ At the front of the second volume of Minutes of the Society is a list of 'Furniture in Mary's Chappell Belonging to the Musicall Society', which shows the increase in their holdings of instruments.³⁶ It details:

A Harpsicord, an Organ
A pr. French horns with Crooks
2 double basses
2 tenor Fiddles
1 Violoncello
1 old ditto
1 German Flute
2 hautboys
2 octave German Flutes
2 Flage[o]lets
2 kettledrums
3 Bassoons

The other items give an idea of the décor of the hall:

3 Large Sconces with guilt (sic) frames and branches
16 smaller in walnut frames and branches
2 ditto on pillars between the windows with branches
8 small benches for the Orchestra
2 ditto for the Organ
6 Lustres [large suspended candleholders]
a Bust of St. Cecilia in plaster
a painting of St. Cecilia
a painting of Lord Drummore

This record was undoubtedly necessary for keeping track of their own property at a time when the premises used belonged to another organisation. The benches for the players were a specialised requirement, which the Society would have had to supply, unlike ordinary chairs which were likely to be present in the hall. The hall was a popular venue for many public activities, being the largest in the centre of the town.³⁷

³⁵ Ibid., vol. I, p. 10.

³⁶ The first entry in the volume is dated 9 June 1747, so the list is likely to have been made at the same time. The list itself is undated.

³⁷ *The Lodge of Edinburgh, No. 1 (Mary's Chapel), 1599-1949*, published by the Lodge to mark its 350th anniversary, p. 23.

The harpsichord mentioned above was bought at auction in December 1728 along with a considerable quantity of music, which cost over £8 while the price for the harpsichord was £4. Both the music and the instrument had belonged to Lord Colville, a well-known amateur player, who had performed in the 1695 concert described by Tytler.³⁸ The list of music auctioned contains seven works which were in the 1765 Index of the Society's possessions, all in the section reserved for 'old' items.³⁹ It is likely, therefore, that these seven were the remains of what was purchased in 1728. The pieces are by composers perhaps regarded even at that time as out of fashion, such as Albicastro, Bassani, Bonporti and Marino. The only one which might have interested the members was a collection of flute sonatas by Corelli, a favourite composer, but this was also marked 'old' in the Index and there is no record of it being played. No record exists of any acquisition of other music by the above composers (other than Corelli) in the Minutes or in the receipts contained in the Innes of Stow papers.⁴⁰

THE CONCERT SEASON

The season of concerts in the Society started in mid-November, as can be seen from the plan books still in existence. These cover the years 1768-1786, with a gap of six years from 1772-77.⁴¹ There is a sufficient number of concert programmes to show how the concerts were planned, and the content of all of them is analysed in Chapter 4. The dates of the season were governed by the presence of members in Edinburgh, and the concerts started when the Courts took their seats for the winter session. Landowners from outside the town came to consult their men of law and business at a time of year when there was little chance of working on the land.

In 1768, the first plan was for 5 February and there were concerts until mid-September except for 18 March and 1 April. There was a break from 23 September until the start of the new season on 11 November. This year is unusual in continuing through the summer until mid-September. A possible reason for the late end to the season is that the Society had only recently made a contract with the singer Tenducci, with every hope that he would be a great attraction.⁴² He started his engagement in June, although he spent some of that month bringing his wife

³⁸ W. Tytler, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

³⁹ I am indebted to Helen Goodwill for information on the Colville music auction.

⁴⁰ See Appendix G for a list of items bought in the early years of the Society.

⁴¹ See Chapter 4 for a description of the books.

⁴² EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 11, where the Directors approved Tenducci's contract.

from Dublin, and his reputation perhaps encouraged the Directors of the Society to prolong the series of concerts before the autumn break. His name was included in every programme from 17 June until the season closed on 16 September.

In 1769 there is a minute of 28 August 'to give up the Friday concert for a month, the town being thin of company'.⁴³ There is no programme in the plan book for a concert on 25 August, and the break lasted from that date until 17 November. In the following two years the same pattern occurs, with the summer break from 17 August until the first concert of the winter on 16 November (1770), and 16 August until the same on 15 November (1771).

There was a short break at Easter of two Fridays, not always consecutive ones, in each year. Of all the years covered by the plan books, only in 1778 did concerts cease at Christmas time. There were none on 18 and 25 December. In the other years, when Christmas Day did not fall on a Friday, the concerts continued. This seems to show that it was always possible to have a well-attended concert on any day of the Christmas season, since people did not go back to their country homes at this time. Easter, when the weather was better and the roads would be more passable, was less sure to provide a good turnout of the members. The total number of concerts in the years for which the plan books exist is therefore:

Table 3.2.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Concerts</i>
1768	39 (starts 5 Feb)
1769	38
1770	37
1771	37
1778	32 (starts 16 Jan)
1779	38
1780	40
1781	40
1782	39
1783	37
1784	38
1785	37
1786	30 (ends 11 Aug)

For 1768 and 1786 there is information on concert plans for only part of the year. For 1778 there are 20 dates without programmes, including the whole of August, and also two blank pages. The summer season finished unusually early. This was a year during which the Society's Treasurer had great difficulty in collecting the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

subscriptions,⁴⁴ and when he was proposing measures of economy in the salaries of the paid musicians.⁴⁵ The difficulty in gathering the subscriptions was explained by the Treasurer in a meeting in August 1778, when he said that:

many of the Members of his Acquaintance, trusting to his answering for them, occasioned the one half year's subscription money not being fully collected when the next became due.⁴⁶

The Society was also lacking a leader of the orchestra, as Giuseppe Puppo had gone to Bath without the permission of the Directors, and gave no sign of returning,⁴⁷ all of which added greatly to the problems of scheduling concerts.

The Articles and Regulations of the Society provided for the regular concerts every Friday, with a starting time in summer of 6 pm. and in winter of 5.30 pm.⁴⁸ The admission of ladies was also referred to, in Article 9:

That it shall belong to the Governour and Directors to appoint Concerts for the Entertainment of the Ladys, at such times as they shall think proper. That the Tickets by which the Ladys are to be admitted shall be issued by the Treasurer, not exceeding the number of sixty, except on the feast of St. Cecilia, to be purchased from the Treasurer by the members of the Society alone, at the rate of half a crown each, upon the Wednesday immediately preceding the Concert, And if any be returned it shall only be on the day following before one a Clock in the afternoon.

The ladies' tickets were printed from a special plate, and the name of the lady was written on the back, with the initials of the Treasurer or Director as endorsement. There are examples of such tickets among the Innes papers for certain years, which have noted on them the attendance at a particular concert. They provide evidence of the popularity of the concerts, and show also that the original limitations placed on the number of ladies in the Article above were not followed by the time of these concerts.⁴⁹

6 August 1756 – ticket made out to Miss Dalrymple, with a note on the reverse '136 ladys at the concert' (*Alexander's Feast*).

3 December 1756 – ticket for Miss Tiby Lockhart countersigned by John Lumsdaine (Director) and noting '255 Ladys present at this St. Cecilia's Concert' (*Messiah*).

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 130.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 129, a warning of salary reduction to Signor Corri and his wife.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 130.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 140.

⁴⁸ Article 7.

⁴⁹ GD113/5/208/10/39/1-3.

11 March 1757 – ticket for Miss Bruce of Kinross ‘175
ladys’, and countersigned by Alexander Maxwell
(Director). The work performed was *Solomon*.

Similar tickets dated 14 December 1759 and 7 March 1760 indicate a continuing high level of attendance from ladies, with 330 for the former (*Deborah*) and 238 for the latter (*Messiah*).⁵⁰ The supply of such tickets seems to have been a successful venture in all the years when the Society presented concerts (usually oratorios) in this way. There is never any adverse comment in the Minutes, and it generated much-needed revenue for the funds. The tickets cost half a crown each, until 1772, when those for the St. Cecilia’s Day concert were increased to three shillings.⁵¹ The provision in the Articles for Directors to have tickets with which to invite visitors was not as easy to administer, however.

That [the Directors] shall have the privilege of inviting one or two of their acquaintances to share of the Musick performed in the said Concert, other than these to which Ladys happen to be invited, To which none besides members are to be admitted unless in some very particular Case it shall appear reasonable to the Governour and Directors to allow of the same.⁵²

Within two years of the writing of the Article, the Directors were asked not to bring in more than two ‘strangers’ to concerts to which ladies were invited – a contradiction of the original intention.⁵³ In June 1732, this was reduced to one each,⁵⁴ and some confusion is apparent from another minute in July referring to the number of guests per Director as two.⁵⁵ The Directors complained that the allowance of two ‘did not answer the frequent Demands for Tickets that were made upon them’, and the solution proposed was that each Director should have three tickets, but that a strict policy should be adopted of no admission without a ticket. This shows that the Society was not dealing efficiently with the surge of interest in the concerts, and reacted very much on the basis of crisis management.

References to the problem died away in subsequent seasons, but in 1738 there is evidence of a reason other than overcrowding for the attempts to limit entry. The clerk of the Society was instructed to attend every concert and refuse admission to any who did not have a ticket properly issued ‘to prevent the Crowding of the Room or the admission of Low Meen folk.’⁵⁶ Forbes Gray has construed this as an indication that the Directors wished to keep the audience

⁵⁰ GD113/5/208/13/44/1-2.

⁵¹ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 65.

⁵² Article 12.

⁵³ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 14.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

select,⁵⁷ a justifiable conclusion when put beside the article quoted above, which sets out a policy of exclusivity unless 'in some very particular case'. However, the mention of a 'great majority' in favour of more members rather than a larger subscription in 1755, and the general attitude of agreement whenever an increase in numbers was proposed, would seem to argue that the members as a whole were very pragmatic in their view of the running of the Society's affairs. The demand for membership was always high, and no doubt the members knew this.

There is only one recorded instance of actual cheating in the obtaining of tickets:

At a meeting of the Directors after the Ladys Concert the 26th of January 1750, it was found that the master of Napier and Capt. Halden ... had come into the Concert upon tickets which had been erased and alter'd in the Date and not designed for those Gentlemen nor for that Concert, Therefore the Directors resolve that for the Space of one year no tickets shall be given to either of the said Gentlemen.⁵⁸

After this, there were no recurrences of such problems reported, and the Directors became more preoccupied with the concerns of employing a larger number of musicians and with the everyday running of the concert seasons.

The Directors met together regularly and a schedule of supervision for the concerts themselves, as well as meetings on an ongoing basis, was laid down in December 1728, as has been mentioned in Chapter 2 in the section on Directors. The resolution quoted there regarding attendance in turn at the concerts was followed by another, to give some consideration to longer-term planning:

Resolved the Governour and Directors will meet & consider of the Societys affairs after the musick is over in the ordinary nights as they shall be from time to time desired by the Directors in waiting.⁵⁹

There is no indication in later minutes whether the Directors were able to keep to this undoubtedly admirable resolution, but it is clear from the charges in various yearly accounts for 'incidents' which include amounts paid to messengers, either between Directors or summoning them to meetings, that it was easy for them to speak to each other in the small area of the Old Town without undue formality and at times not connected to the concerts.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Forbes Gray, 'Musical Society', p. 196.

⁵⁸ EMS Minutes, Vol. II, p. 18.

⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. I, p. 9.

⁶⁰ Such items are given in full in the original accounts in the Innes of Stow papers, but recorded only as a total of 'incidents' in the copies of the accounts which were entered in the Minute Books.

The role of the Treasurer as day-to-day supervisor of the Society's business has been discussed in Chapter 2. The changing role of the Directors after the bankruptcy of John Welsh in 1779 is discussed in Chapter 7.

The concerts given by the Musical Society throughout their year were therefore of two types – the regular Friday evening events for the members, when employees and members played together and only male guests were admitted, and the Ladies' concerts which occurred at various times. Little is known of the content of the latter concerts until about 1750. It can only be thought that they consisted of items similar to those played in the gentlemen's Friday evening programmes.⁶¹ It is clear, however, that they were much more frequent in the years before this date than afterwards. The accounts for each year show that:

In the years to 1740 there were never less than 6 Ladies' concerts;

1741, 1742 – 5 in each year;

1743-1749 – 3 or 4 in each year.

It is possible that the content was mainly instrumental in these years, because the organisation of such a programme was simpler than the production of an oratorio. It is likely that as the ability and the resources of the Society to present oratorios grew along with their enthusiasm for the form, their efforts concentrated on the production of these, but on a less frequent basis than had been the case with the earlier Ladies' concerts. The oratorio performances therefore took the place of the Ladies' concerts in the Society's calendar. From 1750, performances are listed in Appendix I, and the decline in the number of public concerts can be seen.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS AND ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIETY

After the establishment in the early years of the twice-yearly payment of one guinea, there was no change until a meeting in January 1758 decided to raise the amount to three guineas per year.⁶² The sum was divided into two, but the first payment of one and a half guineas was not made until November 1758, as the pressure on the Society's funds was not great in June.⁶³ Thereafter the June subscription remained at one and a half guineas, but the November amount was raised once more, to two guineas, in November 1772. The total yearly cost to a member from that time was three and a half guineas. These figures excluded any purchase of Ladies' tickets for their concerts.

⁶¹ Possible items for these are discussed in Chapter 4 in the sections on purchasing and copying music. Music bought before 1750 is listed in Appendix G.2.

⁶² EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 88.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 96.

The accounts for each year from 1728 to 1795 were entered into the Minute Books of the Musical Society. The original papers for some years are in the Innes of Stow collection, with individual bills and receipts⁶⁴, but a complete view of the Society's financial dealings can only be gained from the entries in the Minute Books, which were copied from the statement prepared for the Directors, and which include the years not preserved in the Innes papers. The accounts were divided into two sections, the 'charge' which listed sources of income, and the 'discharge' which itemised expenditure. Income consisted of subscriptions and money received from ticket sales for the Ladies' concerts and the yearly St. Cecilia's concert. Any other income was occasional and of small sums, for example the interest gained on the money collected for the organ fund. (This was started in 1757, when members contributed half a guinea each for the future purchase of an organ for the concert hall⁶⁵, and the interest added £2-6-0 per year until the money was used at the time of the building of St. Cecilia's Hall in 1762.)

Expenditure was much more varied, and the different entries in each year provide an accurate picture of the activities of the Society, with indications of the changes which occurred throughout its life. Alongside the salaries paid to the professional musicians, details of music and instrumental purchases are given, as are payments to tradesmen for supplying goods, and salaries of non-musical employees such as the servants who attended on the door on concert nights. For comparison, two accounts are given below, one from an early season (1730-1) and one from immediately after the opening of St. Cecilia's Hall (1763-4).

⁶⁴ NAS ref. GD113, most years 1748-1776 and 1782-1792.

⁶⁵ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 108.

Accompt betwixt the Governour and Directors of the
Musical Society & Robert Lumsdaine Writer in
Edinburgh their Treasurer from March 1730 to March
1731.

Charge

June 1730	The balance of the preceding years acct.	1 1 10
	It. [Item] the Subscription money for 80 members	84 0 0
	It. the price of 57 tickets at Concert 26 June 1730	4 12 6
Jully	It. the price of 51 Tickets at Concert 24 Jully 1730	6 7 6
	It. the price of 45 Tickets at Concert 31 Jully 1730	5 12 6
Nover Decr 1730	It. the price of 100 Tickets at St. Cecilia's Concert 18 Decr 1730	12 10 0
	It. the price of 52 Tickets at Concert 18 Decr 1730	6 10 0
Jan 1731	It. the price of 73 Tickets at Concert 8 Janry	9 2 6
Febry	It. the price of 81 Tickets at Concert 5 Febry	10 2 6
	It. the price of 81 Tickets at concert 27 Do	10 2 6
	Total	150 1 10

Discharge

Nov 1730	To the Masters for their Service for half a year due 1 August 1730 as per order in Sederunt Book	31 6 0
	It. to Jas Belson wright for 6 stools p[e]r. Receipt	15 0
	It. to 12 pd. Tallow candle	6 6
	It. for 1000 wafers	8 4
	It. for Cards	5 0
	It. charges in Thoms [tavern] at giving out tickets to 5 Concerts	19 2
	It. for stricking [sic] Tickets to said 5 Concerts	12 6
	It. to 4 soldiers at said 5 Concerts	1 0 0
	It. to 2 soldiers extraordinary at St. Cecilia's Concert	2 0
	It. Charges with the Captain of the Guard	1 8
Mar 1731	It. to porter for 9 months service from June 1730 to March 1731	1 16 0

It. to Tho: Fenton for tuneing [sic] for a year preceeding March 1731	5 0 0
To Masters for half years service due 31 March 1731	31 6 0
Depursements by Jo: Douglas pr. account	11 9 10
Received by him of the Society's money at last general meeting for which he accounts	64 4 2
Balance due by Robert Lumsdaine	9 8
Total	150 1 10

At Edinburgh the fifteenth day of March 1731 The above accompt was fitted and cleared betwixt the Directors of the Muscicall Society & Robert Lumsdaine writer in Edinr. their Treasurer who has delivered up to them the Instructions of the Articles of the Discharge and is to charge himself with the above balance of nine shillings and eight pence sterling in his next years accompt, And therefore they discharge him of his Intromissions for the above space.

In the charge above, there was one yearly collection of subscriptions only. This was the last year in which there was no extra call for subscriptions in November, and it is clear from the very small amount in hand that the funds of the Society needed the support of the twice-yearly income, which became the norm in 1732.⁶⁶ The number of Ladies' concerts, from which additional income was gained by selling tickets, is high compared with that in later years, and here can be seen to have almost doubled the total income for the year.

A number of items in the discharge are typical of the 'housekeeping' expenses incurred every year in order to run the concert season. Bills for candles, printing tickets ('stricking' in the item above), and payment for soldiers to assist at the concerts where non-members were able to attend are all found in every account. The soldiers acted as doormen. One entry in this year, however, is unusual, that of the amount of £64-4-2 'received by him [John Douglas, Deputy Governor] of the Society's money ... for which he accounts'. This is the first reference to what was actually a loan of this amount by the Society to the Deputy Governor, which appears in the accounts as debit and credit for many years, and which was never repaid by him. No reason for the loan was ever indicated in Society papers, and the matter was resolved only some time after his death, which occurred in 1752. The payment to him of this sum almost put the Society into debt at an early stage of its development.

⁶⁶ Ibid., vol. I, p. 25.

Account betwixt the Governor & Directors of the
Musical Society and Willm. Douglas their Treasurer from
June 1763 to June 1764.⁶⁷

Charge

1763

June 21	To balance on hand at last Clearence [sic]	289	14	8
	To the sum collected for the organ	58	16	0
	To the Subscription of 170 members at 11/2 guineas each	267	15	0
Novr. 30	To the Subscription of 170 members at 11/2 guineas each	267	15	0
Decr. 14	To the Subscription of 10 additional members	15	15	0
	To Messrs. Geo Clerk & Callender & Sir David Cunningham's readmission dues	3	3	0
	To 256 ladys tickets at St. Cecilia's Concert at 2/6 each ⁶⁸	32	0	0
	To one year's Int[e]rest of 58£ collected for the organ at 4 pr. Ct. [per cent]	2	6	0
	Total	937	4	8

Discharge

1	By Signora Doria's salary for one year to 1 June 1764 ⁶⁹	112	0	0
2	By Signor Doria's salary 9 months to do. [ditto]	31	10	0
3	By Mr. Arrigoni's salary one year to 1 June 1764 ⁷⁰	73	10	0
4	By Mr. Oliveri's do. 9 months to do.	39	7	6
5	By Mr. and Mrs. Collet's salary	12	10	0
6	By Mr. McPherson's salary to 1 July 1764	20	0	0
7	By Mr. Smeiton – do. to 1 June do.	20	0	0
8	By Mr. Thomson do. to do.	15	0	0
9	By Mr. Stewart's do.	15	0	0
10	By Mr. Marin's do. to 1 June 1764	8	6	8
11	By Mr. Kearcher's do. to do.	8	6	8
12	By Joseph Reinagle ⁷¹		10	6
13	By Mr. Brunetti	3	10	0
14	By Mr. Gilson	4	15	0

⁶⁷ Ibid., vol. III, pp. 148-50. Details of each item are from the individual bills and receipts which are wrapped in the original account papers (GD113/5/208/17). The number in the discharge account matches the number of each item in the bundle.

⁶⁸ This charge lists only one public concert, unlike the account for 1730-31. The total income has increased because of higher subscriptions and a higher number of members, making a reduction in concert revenue possible.

⁶⁹ Items 1-11 are for contracted musicians. It may be seen from the different dates that there was no standard time of year for contracts to start.

⁷⁰ See the comments on the relative positions of Arrigoni and Olivieri in Chapter 5.

⁷¹ Items 12-15 deal with musicians employed on a casual basis, as is seen from the varying amounts they were paid in the year.

15	By Mr. Aitken	2	12	0
16	By Mr. Chean for tuning the harpsichord ⁷²	2	0	0
17	By Mr. Smith for do. ⁷³	1	0	0
18	By the Clerk Salary for attendance receiving the tickets one year to 1 June 1764 ⁷⁴	5	0	0
19	By Thos. Herriot's salary to 15 May 1764 ⁷⁵	4	4	0
20	By Willm. Williamson's do. to 1 June do. ⁷⁶	1	2	0
21	By two centinels attendance on the Concert to 2 nd Feby 1764	1	13	0
	Subtotal	381	17	4
22	By Thos. Herriot's account for the Wednesday Concerts ⁷⁷ one quarter to 1 st Septr 1763		11	3
23	By ditto to 1 Decemr. Do.	1	6	0
24	By ditto to 1 March 1764	1	6	0
25	By ditto to 1 June 1764		19	9
	Subtotal	4	3	0
26	By packing and carriage of the organ from Craigforth ⁷⁸	2	8	2
27	By Mr. Johnston setting up the organ ⁷⁹	5	10	0
28	By Provost Lind for spermaceta candles ⁸⁰	3	5	0
29	By Mr. McPherson for wax lights	1	6	0
30	By Capt. Willm. Pillans for do.	15	8	0
	Subtotal	19	19	0
31	By Mr. McPherson for Wagancel's [Wagenseil] concertos ⁸¹		10	6

⁷² Payment for the months of Aug-April.

⁷³ Payment for the months of Mar-June.

⁷⁴ The Clerk was Thomas Sanderson.

⁷⁵ Thomas Herriot was the caretaker of the Society's premises.

⁷⁶ This bill is itemised for 'attendance at the concert', probably as an additional caretaker.

⁷⁷ This refers to concerts given in the Society's hall, but not necessarily sponsored by the Society. The hall was much in demand for benefits, and the Society was willing to make it available, as long as the occasion did not interfere with the Society's own Friday concerts. The quarterly amounts vary because Herriot sometimes bought candles and was also paid at differing weekly rates. The details can be seen in the bills, nos. 22-25 in the account papers. (It is possible that the first two quarters refer to concerts still held in Mary's Chapel, until the new hall was in use.)

⁷⁸ At a time when the Society had no organ of its own, it borrowed one from John Callender of Craigforth, a long-standing member and well-known antiquary and writer. This bill is in two parts – one is for costs to Callender for boxes for the organ and the other is the cost of a cart to bring the organ to Edinburgh.

⁷⁹ John Johnson charged for 'packing, fetching, unpacking and setting up the organ with a man assisting for 5 days'.

⁸⁰ 26lbs @ 2/6 per lb.

⁸¹ It is evident from the handwriting on the bills that this was the same man who was a violinist with the Society from 1731-83 and also appears in the account above at no. 29.

32	By Mr. Good for a chimney for the Leigh [lower] room below the hall	14	0
33	By Thos. Sanderson's acct. of Incidents ⁸²	1	19 7
34	By Mr. Russell for coals	4	0 0
35	By John Smart ⁸³		1 0
36	By Mr. Kearcher for writing Italian duets ⁸⁴	2	2 6
37	By Thos. Mylne's acct.		14 0
38	By Mr. Bremner's do. ⁸⁵	40	0 0
39	By Mr. Graham's do. ⁸⁶	28	6 0
40	By Mr. Ruddiman's do. ⁸⁷	2	17 0

⁸² This item refers to the small payments involved in the putting on of concerts each week. In the original accounts (GD113/209), Sanderson listed such expenses as postage of letters on behalf of the Society, payments to porters for carrying messages, and purchase of coal for the hall. This account for the 6 months Jun-Dec 1763 is of especial interest, as it shows more accurately than anywhere else in the Society's papers, or in the newspapers, the date in 1763 on which the Society began to use their new hall for concerts. An item on 22 June is for 'drinks to the men cleaning out the new hall' and one on 24 June is for 'carrying instruments and books back and fore to the new hall'. The indication of the completed move is the item on Aug 31 'for flitting [removing] out of Mary's Chapel all the books instruments glasses etc. into the new hall.' The first season in the new hall started therefore in November 1763.

⁸³ This was for mending a box 'belonging to the Consort Hall for holding flut[e]s and making a new key for it.'

⁸⁴ 'Writing' meant copying. See Chapter 4 on programming and Appendix J for music copied.

⁸⁵ Bremner was Robert Bremner the music-seller, by this date in his shop in London. The bill in 1763 was for £12-11-0. The following is a verbatim transcription of the bill for items bought in 1763-64:

2 copies periodical no. 1	2 Kellie overtures
concert set periodical no. 2	set periodical no. 6
3 copies overture <i>Artaxerxes</i>	Bauch concertos
3 Pugnani quartettos	set periodical no. 7
1 Stamitz trios	do. no. 8
set of periodical no. 3	songs in <i>Cleonice</i>
Bauch harpsichord concerto	Handel voluntaries
2 sets periodical no. 3	set periodical no. 9
2 Corelli concertos	Bassani voluntaries
2 Geminiani concertos op. 2	Purcell Psalms with interlude
3 do. op. 3	Zippoli lessons
2 do. op. 4	Stanley concertos
2 do. op. 7	Handel 2 concertos (3 sets)
2 copies Handel's 60 overtures	Rosengrave fugues
2 copies do. last 6 overtures	Handel harpsichord concertos 2 and 3
2 Handel 12 grand concertos	Marcello Psalms
2 copies Abel op. 1	instr. parts for Handel op. 4
2 do. op. 2	2 Geminiani concertos (from Corelli trios)
2 Schwindl overtures	2 do. from last solos
Pelegrino harpsichord concerto	set of periodical no. 10
set periodical no. 5	instr. parts for Handel op. 7
set periodical no. 11	Pugnani quintettos
set periodical no. 4	Zinnello quintettos
2 sets periodical no. 3	

The Pelegrino concerto, *Cleonice* and Handel organ concertos op. 4 were returned to Bremner during the year, with no reason given. The return is noted at the foot of the bill.

⁸⁶ Graham was a bookbinder and his bill for this year was large because of the many new purchases of music which was divided into parts and bound into part books.

⁸⁷ For printing letters to be sent to members, lists of candidates for election to the Society and advertisements.

41	By Mr. Fleming's do. ⁸⁸	14	0
42	By Margt. Webster's for tallow candles ⁸⁹	1	4 11
43	By Thos. Sanderson's acct. of Incidents ⁹⁰	1	0 4
44	By Mr. Alexr. Hunter's acct. ⁹¹	3	19 6
45	By Mr. Caddle's do. ⁹²	1	11 8
46	By Simon Fraser's do. ⁹³	11	4 10
47	By Mr. Esplin's do. ⁹⁴	6	10 0
48	By Thos. Sanderson's salary for giving out the tickets and writing this acct.	5	0 0
49	By Andrew Douglas Glazier's acct ⁹⁵	3	19 0
	By the sum collected for the organ	58	16 0
	By Balance in the Treasurer's hands	344	19 3
	Subtotal	403	15 3
	Total	937	4 8

At Edinburgh the nin[e]te[n]th day of June one thousand seven hundred & sixty four years, the above acct. is fitted and cleared between the Governor & Directors of the Musical Society Subscribing and Willm. Douglas their Treasurer and the Vouchers are approven off and given up, and he is to charge himself in next years Acct. with the above Balce. of Four hundred and three pounds fifteen shillings and threepence Sterling. In witness whereof these presents (writen [sic] by Thos. Sanderson clerk to the said Willm. Douglas) are Subscribed by both said parties place day month and year above written before these witnesses John Fortune Servt. to Mr. Walker Vintner in Edinr. And the said Thos. Sanderson, signed G. Drummond, Wm. Tytler, Saml. Mitchelson, Henry Home, Willm. Douglas [Directors], John Fortune witness, Thos. Sanderson witness.

The growth of the concerts and the active life of the Society are apparent in these figures. The sum of money passing through the accounts is more than six times larger than in the accounts for 1730-31, and the year was a profitable one. The

⁸⁸ For the cost of newspaper advertisements.

⁸⁹ 46 lbs @ 1/1 for 2 lbs.

⁹⁰ The account for the months Jan-June was much smaller than the previous one, since the life of the Society was quieter after the move to the new hall.

⁹¹ For matting supplied for the hall.

⁹² James Cadell supplied nails, thread and canvas, and laid the matting.

⁹³ Fraser was a whiteiron smith who made lamps for the walls and stairs of the hall.

⁹⁴ Charles Esplin printed tickets for the concerts. This entry was for new tickets in Dec. 1763 with the venue altered from 'Mary's Chapel' to 'St. Cecilia's Hall'. There is no order between September and December, so this was probably the first batch with the new venue printed on them.

⁹⁵ For panes of glass in the windows of the hall and the room underneath.

money in hand, however, did not help the next year's expenditure. The contributions collected for the building of St. Cecilia's Hall were not sufficient to pay all the bills, as the Treasurer informed the Directors when he had submitted the above accounts.⁹⁶ After clearance of the various tradesmen's amounts there was a shortfall of £294-18-4 on the total cost of £1627-11-10. The Treasurer was instructed to reimburse himself for the shortfall out of the balance in the Society's ordinary funds. Calls later went out, in 1768 in particular, to those subscribers to the Hall who had not paid their promised amounts.⁹⁷ The annoyance was great enough for the Society to threaten prosecution. Throughout the accounts in the Minute Books, it is clear that the Treasurer was expected to subsidise any shortfall in income, possibly until the following year's accounting and, when sums as large as the above were involved, the Treasurer needed to be a man of some means himself.

Comparison of the two sets of accounts shows that the activities of the Musical Society had changed considerably over the thirty three years between them. The number of professional musicians employed rose from six to sixteen, and salaries from £62-12-0 to £366-16-4. These factors had their effect on the future of the Society: the rise in paid players signalled the lessening of participation by the gentlemen members in the orchestra, and the greater demands on the Society's finances for salaries led to the situation discussed in chapter 2, when in the 1770s the Treasurer tried to reform the Society's expenditure. Another change was the reduction in the Society's commitment to Ladies' concerts as a way of generating income. The first set of accounts listed a total of seven throughout the year, in addition to the regular St. Cecilia's day concert, while the second contained only the St. Cecilia's day concert. This particular change seems to have occurred during the 1740s, when no year had more than five Ladies' concerts, after previous totals of between six and nine every year.⁹⁸ No reason for the reduction is apparent from the Minutes, but it may have been that the number of professional players was stable in those years (five or six after the departure of Barsanti in 1743), and that the income from subscriptions was enough to keep pace with the outlay in salaries without relying as much on the ticket sales for the Ladies' concerts as had been necessary in previous years.⁹⁹ In 1745-46, there were three Ladies' concerts, but the accounts do not mention a concert for St. Cecilia's day, probably owing to the upheaval in the city during the Jacobite rising. This always brought in more in ticket sales than the Ladies' concerts, and the lack of its income did not affect the total year's figures

⁹⁶ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 150.

⁹⁷ Ibid., vol. III, p. 9.

⁹⁸ See the individual yearly accounts in the Minute books, esp. vols. I and II, where ticket receipts were listed in the Charge.

⁹⁹ See Appendix E, showing the Society's yearly financial results after 1743, taking into account the smaller number of Ladies' concerts.

enough to make a loss, as the subscription money was enough to cover outgoings. The Society was beginning to rely less on the Ladies' concerts than it had in earlier years, when the inclusion of an article (Article 9) in its regulations especially setting out the conditions of sale of tickets for such events makes it clear that the Ladies' concerts were part of the whole financial organisation of the Society.

The decade of the 1750s saw the expansion which led to the level of spending shown in the second set of accounts. Increased membership brought in an income which encouraged the Society to employ more musicians, and the numbers rose from six in 1750 to 17 in 1760. The yearly figures were always in profit, and it was at this time that the idea of building a new concert hall was raised. The comparatively long life of the Musical Society, its stability as an organisation, and its plans for future expansion once it had decided on the building of a hall must have given its members a feeling of confidence and encouraged their willingness to support it. It was at this point that the Society grew into a commercial undertaking rather than a club with an administration to support its activities. There could have been no firmer indication of its intentions than the commencement of an important building project.

GENERAL FINANCES

The comparative prosperity of the 1750s carried the Society forward to the completion of its greatest physical achievement, but the overall financial condition of the Society was not always so comfortable. The general state of the finances of the Musical Society can be seen in Appendix E, which shows the balance at the end of each accounting year. There were several periods when the Society was running at a deficit, i.e. 1733-35, 1739-42 and 1773-89. Methods for correcting this were limited by the nature of the Society as a private club, and usually the solution was to raise the number of members or the level of subscription. However, the Society seems to have been able to spend whatever funds it had, and the years when subscription amounts were raised do not coincide with the years of greatest deficit. The Society also turned at an early stage to obtaining loans from individuals. In 1735, the accounts show an entry:

To Mr. Sinclair 60£ borrowed from him with a quarter's
Interest from the 21 August to the 21 Novr. 1734.¹⁰⁰

The interest is given as 15/-, and the information is next to a note about the loan made to John Douglas out of Society money. By lending to its Deputy Governor

¹⁰⁰ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 46.

and borrowing from elsewhere at the same time, the Society was liable for over £100, and severely reduced its own funds. The debt to Sinclair was paid quickly, as it does not appear again.

In 1740, because of the need to pay the Masters' salaries, the Treasurer was asked to borrow £70 'from any person from whom it can be had,'¹⁰¹ which was done. Awareness of the bad financial situation prompted a warning to the Society by the Treasurer in February 1741¹⁰² that the legal position of the Society was not safe regarding loans to it from individuals, and steps were taken to ensure that the Treasurer should not personally be held responsible for them. The loan of £70 was repaid in 1742.¹⁰³

During the years from 1750-70, the Society enjoyed a period of relative prosperity, as is shown in Appendix E, where each year has a good balance in favour of the Society. In the 1770s, however, the then Treasurer John Welsh brought before the Directors the difficulties he was having in regulating the Society's funds. He prepared and delivered a detailed analysis in January 1777 of his problems, which mostly concerned the number of professional musicians.¹⁰⁴ In this lengthy document he stated that he had given careful consideration to all the proposals before putting them in front of the Directors, and it is certainly true that he had looked at the cases of individual employees:

... it is now evident that he [Schetky] has trusted too much to the Society's engagement by neglecting his practice by which means he has fallen off greatly of late. It is therefore proposed to ... offer him a new engagement at £50 [instead of £80] . If he does not agree to that the Society will gain £80 per annum.

John Addison is a useless hand and in the present situation might be dismissed.

John Thomson were he in better circumstances should be reduced to £10 which would save £10 per annum. The Treasurer however is grieved to mention his name. He leaves him to the Compassion of the Directors.

Welsh had examined the incidental expenses and promised to keep these under control. His long-term remedy was to set up a contingency account with money borrowed from a bank, into which the subscriptions could be paid, and which with

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 94.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., vol. III, pp. 117-119.

careful management would gradually pay off the debts. In January 1777, the Directors opened a loan account with the bank belonging to two members of the Society, Sir William Forbes and James Hunter Blair,¹⁰⁵ but the amount was for £250 instead of the £300 recommended by Welsh, and the only recorded dismissal was that of James Hamilton, who had been teaching the boys from Heriot's Hospital their oratorio parts.¹⁰⁶ It would appear from their relative inaction that, despite the considerable efforts made by Welsh to bring a surer foundation to the Society's financial dealings, there was no real appreciation among the Directors of the seriousness of the situation.

Once the habit of borrowing from a bank was established, the Society was never again free of such debts. Although the bank, having close connections to the Directors, (indeed Sir William Forbes was one of the Directors himself), did not make itself in any way disagreeable, the anxiety of the Society to keep up the standards of its concerts always outweighed its sense of monetary control. It might even be said that the bank's willingness to accommodate the Society encouraged it to rely on the credit always being available, and not to practise any real economies. The presence on the governing committee of bankers and lawyers, men of reputation and substance in the city, also gave the Society financial solidity in the eyes of those with whom they did business.

The bankruptcy of John Welsh, Treasurer, was announced to the Society at a general meeting on 18 January 1779, at which a letter from Welsh was read. The letter makes it clear that the event came upon him suddenly and left the Society in his debt for about £220, because of the habit of letting the Treasurer carry the responsibility each year for any shortfall in the balance.¹⁰⁷ The members gave permission to the Directors to carry on the business of the Society as they thought fit, and they proceeded to try to regularise the finances. The accounts for 1776-77 were approved, but the following year was found not to be so easy. The Directors wrote to John Welsh:

We meant in the same manner to have examined the account of the subsequent year [1777-78], but we find a Chasm of Vouchers for the whole of that term; We therefore take it for granted that these Vouchers are made up in a parcel by themselves, and have probably escaped your own or your friends' search: we must beg the favour

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 123. The letter to him was dated 13 December 1777, a significant number of months after Welsh's submission to the Directors, which strengthens the presumption of reluctance to make economies.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 147.

that you will take the earliest opportunity of looking for the parcel, and sending it to us.¹⁰⁸

The letter continued at some length to press for the return of all the Society's papers in Welsh's possession, and referred to loans which he had allowed to Giuseppe Puppo and Domenico Corri (employees) from funds. It referred also to the arrangement already made for Thomas Sanderson, the Society's clerk, to help in the business of gathering subscriptions so that the burden of which Welsh complained in August 1778 might be eased.

You know how anxious a desire we have shown for some months past to have the accounts between you and the Society properly adjusted. We had hoped that the arrangement of last August, by which a seperate [sic] Collector of the Society's funds was appointed, would have spoke to you on that subject with more efficacy than our delicacy to a man of business would permit us to express by words.¹⁰⁹

The difficulties which Welsh met in this part of his job as Treasurer might partly be laid at his own door, as no Treasurer before him complained of problems in collecting money from the members. This is the view taken by Jenny Burchell, when she divides the phases of the society's life into periods coinciding with a change in Treasurer. She describes Welsh's time in office as 'characterised by administrative instability, lasting until the end of the 1770s ... the confusion attendant on [which] was never really resolved.'¹¹⁰ Since there is the evidence of Welsh's bankruptcy, which cannot have been caused only by his involvement in the Musical Society, it can be argued that he was not a good businessman. The accounts which he kept for the years between 1771 when he took over the Treasurership and his resignation in 1779, however, show that he followed the practices of the Society as his predecessor had done, and tried his best, as in the measures mentioned above, to improve the Society's position.

The increase in the numbers of musicians employed in the 1770s certainly placed a strain on the Society's income, and the absenteeism of Puppo, Pinto and the Corris in particular made general administration very difficult. Burchell blames the Treasurer and his lack of authority, but it must not be forgotten that her comparison with the tenure of William Douglas (Treasurer 1749-71) covers a very different part of the Society's life. Before the building of St. Cecilia's Hall in 1762, the concerts were a centre of social activity in Edinburgh, but were constrained by

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 148.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 150.

¹¹⁰ Burchell, 'Polite or Commercial Concerts?', p. 35.

the size of their premises. After the opening of the new concert hall, the previous limitations were removed, both from physical considerations and from the aspirations of the Society, causing an upsurge in musical and social expectation which could only be fulfilled by the expansion of the orchestra, since the habit of the members to play was on the decline. The erratic conduct of principal players in absenting themselves when they had a better offer elsewhere is documented in Chapter 5, and shows that over the years from about 1770 opportunities for them to play in the city, but outside the Society, increased. The Society was often lenient in taking back personnel whom it had warned regarding behaviour, and the prevailing mood seems to have been one of great competition for their services. The musicians cannot be entirely blamed for taking advantage of this, and it is a moot point whether the Treasurer alone may be held responsible for the decisions which the Society, or its Directors, took on behalf of the members.

The position of Collector was continued after Welsh's resignation, and according to the Society Minutes, the accounts were always made up from 1779 between him and the Directors, as they had been before between the Treasurer and the Directors (see the accounts examples above). The Society entered on the phase which Burchell identifies with William Tytler's Treasurership, but there is no record of such an appointment in the Society papers. Tytler had been Treasurer for the year 1747-48, having been a member since 1737. Because of the patchy record-keeping in the years 1745-48, the pages which should have contained the minutes of the general meetings of both 1747 and 1748 are blank.¹¹¹ There is therefore no information on any changes of Directors which might have taken place, but it is clear from the heading of the 1747-48 accounts that Tytler was the Treasurer then. William Douglas, however, is named at the start of the 1748-49 accounts as Treasurer, and Tytler returned to the position of Director, which he held until his death in 1792 with only one break of five years (1766-71).

The approach to general administration changed in the Society because of the lack of a named Treasurer. In the years following 1779, the money was collected and distributed by Thomas Sanderson,¹¹² and the other matters which had fallen to the Treasurer were dealt with by different Directors, as mentioned in Chapter 2. In the years from 1779 - 1786, very little of the Society's business was minuted, but in June of that year, two of the Directors, Gilbert Innes and John Russell, were asked to examine the position of one of the musicians:

¹¹¹ EMS Minutes, vol. II, pp. 3, 4, 7.

¹¹² See for example the minute in vol. III, p. 168, where the Directors 'ordered Mr. Sanderson to pay Mr. Corri ten pounds sterling advance', and 'ordered the Collector to prepare a new letter for an additional £100' – this referring to a request for additional credit from the bank.

Mr. Addison – in place of £15 - - - £10

and remitt to Mr. Innes and Mr. Russell to enquire how far he is entitled to be on the musical fund.¹¹³

Addison was struck off the list of performers in June 1787,¹¹⁴ and at the same time the same Directors were instructed to obtain an accounting of travelling expenses for Signora Sultani's journey to Edinburgh. The singer had arrived in February, having overspent the allowance given, and with expectations of free lodging which the Society refused to supply. Another Director, Samuel Mitchelson, was asked to 'treat with Mr. Barnard to lead the second fiddle and at all events to agree with him his demands are £40 per annum.'¹¹⁵ All these tasks were previously in the hands of the Treasurer.

When the Society first subsidised the boy singer Maxwell Shaw, Innes and Russell were the Directors deputed to settle an allowance for clothes, and come to an agreement with the Vestry [governing body] of the Episcopal Chapel over the shared payment.¹¹⁶ In the same minute they were asked also to take charge of obtaining a harpsichord from London, as the one in the hall was in very poor condition. A letter from Russell to Innes dated 5 October 1788 reported that he had ordered a Broadwood double-keyed instrument, 'much superior to the best pianoforte for a concert'.¹¹⁷ The two men were prominent in the rest of the life of the Society, giving a great deal of their time and effort to its running, probably because they were gentlemen players and had a stronger interest than non-playing members. In December 1788 the Directors decided:

...the St. Cecilia's Concert should be in the end of January next and the Musical Gentlemen in the Direction should take it into consideration as soon as possible...¹¹⁸

- an indication that the choosing of the programme was a task given to certain of the Directors.

Efforts to encourage more support for the concerts involved all the Directors, as did the problems caused in the late 1780s by the new building project in the area, the South Bridge.¹¹⁹ In 1789 the minutes are fuller than before because

¹¹³ Ibid., vol. IV, p. 62.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 90.

¹¹⁷ GD113/4/158/332.

¹¹⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 97.

¹¹⁹ E.g. *ibid.*, p. 110, Mr. Innes to try to get a female singer in August 1789, and Mr. Tytler sen. to write to the Trustees of the South Bridge on business of the Society.

this construction interfered greatly with the entrance and surroundings of the concert hall, and the Society was in touch with the planners and builders.¹²⁰ The Society had to arrange special cleaning of the premises, ordered in August 1789, the walls to be washed and the lustres to be cleaned.¹²¹ At the start of the concert season in November, Innes was instructed 'to advertise the opening of the Concert when he sees the work, cleaning, washing etc. going on in the hall in such forwardness as to admit company'.

The Society was at this time in debt for £264-1-8 and fines were being imposed on performers who did not attend promptly.¹²² In April 1791, the Directors tried to encourage the musicians to improve standards:

As there is to be no Ladies' concert during the month of May the Directors recommend to the Gentlemen of the Orchestra to attend the weekly concerts as usual and as they are sensible that the performance has of late much fallen off, particularly in the Musick of Handel Geminiani and others of the old composers, which is much complained of by the Society.

The Directors recommend to the Leader and the other Masters and expect that they shall consider the ensuing concerts in May as rehearsals so as they may practice the above and other musick in order to do justice to it in their performance on the more Publick Concerts in June next.¹²³

On the same page is a request to the *ripieno* violin players (those who had no solo work, but played in the ensemble) to pay more attention to the dynamics in their parts, especially when accompanying a singer, so as not to be too loud. All the preceding indicates a difficulty with the discipline of the players, borne out by a note in July 1791 refusing to remit any fines levied for bad attendance, threatening one player with being struck off the list if his attendance did not improve and asking Gilbert Innes and John Trotter (another Director) to check on the salary claim of a second player.¹²⁴

The indiscipline among the players can perhaps be traced to some extent to their leader Stabilini, who came to the city at a very young age.¹²⁵ The responsibility of leading the Society's musicians was one for which he was perhaps not ready, and he may have regarded the administration, by men much older than

¹²⁰ See chapter 7.

¹²¹ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 111.

¹²² Ibid., p. 112.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 124.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 127.

¹²⁵ See chapter 5 for comments on his time with the Society.

him, as difficult to deal with. The task of the Directors was not easy in such circumstances, especially after the death in 1792 of William Tytler, who was very influential in the later years, particularly in his efforts to maintain the standards which he felt ought to prevail.¹²⁶ He was joined in this by his friend and fellow Director, Henry Mackenzie, but the latter admitted in his autobiography that the loss of Tytler preceded by only a little the end of the Musical Society.

I was very desirous, on account of my old friend Mr. Tytler, whose favourite object the Concert had been for more than half a century, that it should survive *him*. This object I attained; one of the last full concerts was a funeral one to his memory, and after languishing a short time it expired;¹²⁷

By the end of its life, the administration of the Musical Society concerts had become a very much more complicated task than it had been in the beginning. The constant demand for membership, acceded to by the Society for financial and social reasons, meant that its structure became more unwieldy through sheer force of numbers. This did not make any difference in their administrative meetings, but the real function of the Society was the running of the concerts, and the changes over the years in this area are very clear, as has been pointed out in the discussion above of the two sets of accounts. The larger audiences, the responsibility of the new concert hall, the increased number of professional musicians and the resulting financial demands all made what had started as a gathering of like-minded gentlemen into a quasi-commercial venture. The momentum provided by the coming together of several sets of circumstances – the new hall, the increased support from a public audience which used the concerts for its own social reasons as well as musical ones, the general upsurge of economic growth which meant more money for entertainment¹²⁸ – kept the status of the concerts high for some years, and encouraged the administration to believe that it could continue to grow painlessly. The realisation of musicians, however, that the audience support and economic growth could benefit them outside the Society began to undermine the unspoken position which the Society believed it had, to be the controlling body of concert production in the city. The tilt away from amateur music-making had gone too far for the Society to recover by the mid-1770s, with the resulting financial worries discussed above. But the change in balance had fortunate consequences for the musicians, if not for the Musical Society. It gave them the opportunity to use their skills more widely, in Edinburgh and elsewhere, as professional provision of music became more acceptable, and the amateur retired back into the home.

¹²⁶ See the discussion of Tytler's influence in chapter 7.

¹²⁷ Thompson, ed., *Anecdotes and Egotisms*, p. 78.

¹²⁸ See the references to economic change at the beginning of this chapter and in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONCERT PLANNING OF THE MUSICAL SOCIETY

The administrative structure of the concert season has been discussed in Chapter 3. This Chapter will describe the musical content of the weekly concerts and oratorios presented by the Society, taking into account information from the plan books and the two Indexes of music referred to in the Introduction, as well as the contents of the Innes of Stow papers regarding music purchased and copied. There are entries in the Minute Books of music purchased from time to time, and these are listed in Appendix G alongside the much greater details found in the Innes papers, which are also the only source of information on copying. All these sources will be briefly reviewed prior to a more general discussion of the repertoire.

THE PLAN BOOKS

These three surviving volumes are the most complete resource for consideration of the programmes of music played by the Society. The years covered by them – 1768-71 in the first volume, 1778-82 in the second and 1782-86 in the third – are of particular interest because the first volume deals with the time not long after the building of St. Cecilia's Hall when the Society was enjoying enormous popularity. It covers the period when the castrato singer Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci was in Edinburgh for the first time. The other volumes show the development of the programmes after a gap of seven years, and although the total number of concert plans is not large when the length of the Society's life is considered, there are enough to show some of the changes taking place as the Society was coming towards the end of its existence.

The notebooks, about 8" by 5", contain programmes for each concert, one per page, dated at the top and divided into three Acts.¹ The programmes are handwritten, with occasional notes added at the bottom of a page to indicate a particular payment made, or the absence of a singer on that night.² No similar record noting the absence of the instrumentalists has survived, although the

¹ See Appendix F for a list of all instrumental music played in the concerts listed in the plan books.

² E.g. 18 Nov 1768 – 'Mr. Alphy paid up'; 15 Apr 1768 – 'Mr. Aitken absent'.

existence of such a book was occasionally referred to in the Minutes.³ There is no indication whether the Society kept up this record continuously.

From the plan books there emerges one method which was used to make the choice of the instrumental pieces in each concert. A comparison of two consecutive programmes shows what this was.⁴

14 April 1769

8 Overture Periodicall
Song Madam [name omitted]
Song Tenducci

2 Act

4 Overture Abell 2 op
Song Madam [name omitted]
Stamitz Treeos
Song Tenducci

3 Act

4 Overture Richter
Song Madam [name omitted]
Song Tenducci
Overture by Lord Kellie

21 April 1769

9 Periodicall Overture
Song Mr. Tenducci
Treeo Stamitz

2 Act

5 Overture Abell 2 op
Song Tenducci
Noturno Martini
Song Tenducci

3 Act

5 Overture Richter
Song Mr. Tenducci
Overture Lord Kellie

It can be seen from these two weeks' programmes that there were two or three works or groups of works given in order week by week, such as the *Periodical Overtures* or Abel's op.2 *Overtures*. This simplified the forward planning a great deal, and the corresponding items were often placed at the same points in each concert. From 10 March 1769 to 23 June 1769, every concert began with a *Periodical Overture*,⁵ a block of 14 weeks. Unnumbered pieces also show continuity, as seen from the two works by Stamitz and the Earl of Kellie in succeeding weeks. Although this rather blanket approach to the planning of the programmes was not used all the time, it is not surprising that the Society should have employed this device. The men who ran the Musical Society led very busy lives, with business, judicial and political commitments in the running of the city. The work of the Society was no doubt close to their hearts, but a short cut to the arrangement of the

³ E.g. EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 151, vol. IV, p. 90. See also the comments in Chapter 5 on the fining of various musicians for absence.

⁴ All quotations from the plan books preserve the original spelling.

⁵ Nos. 5-13, 15-17, 19, 20.

season's programmes must have been welcome. The system also made the practising of some items easier, as the players had more than one week's notice of what was expected.

The form of each concert can also be seen from the above examples. The opening item was always instrumental and each act contained one or two songs. These are rarely identified, probably because the singer did not decide on the particular item until the day of the concert. A letter from the Directors to the singer Mariana Mazzanti dated 18 March 1760 gives an idea of what the Society expected of its artists. (This is a reply to a complaint by Madame Mazzanti that she was not being favoured by the Edinburgh public as she had been led to expect.)

One reason how you have failed...is plain, the Company who frequent [sic] the Concert as well as the Members ...not only expect good musick but variety, especly [sic] in the singing part...You gave the Concert avery [sic] night a repetition of the same. You brought to this place about a Dozn. Songs and since that you have acquired about half a Dozn. more and these we got from you over and over so that everybody knows what they are to expect.⁶

These strictures on the singer's conduct clearly illustrate the standards which the Society expected of its soloists, and indicate that the singer was left to choose his or her material with little interference from the Directors. Hence the lack of specified songs in the plans.⁷

An analysis of the information on all concerts contained in the plan books will be found in the section on repertoire in this chapter.

THE INDEXES OF MUSIC OWNED BY THE SOCIETY

There are two volumes in existence of official lists of music belonging to the Society at different times, made in 1765⁸ and 1782.⁹ There are references at other times to the Directors' wish for such lists,¹⁰ but these are the only ones to survive. The notebooks are identical in layout, in foolscap size with ruled pages, a margin on the left side and five columns on the right side of each page. There is an

⁶ EMS Minutes, vol. II, pp. 115-6.

⁷ Songs named in the plans are discussed in the section on vocal music below.

⁸ Edinburgh University Library, ref. La III 761.

⁹ Edinburgh Public Libraries, ref. qYML 28 MS.

¹⁰ The first was in 1736. EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 49.

alphabetised indented index at the beginning and end of each volume, and the pages in the centre are plain. The 1765 book has a composition cover, probably later than the book itself, while the other volume has a cover of marbled boards half-bound in leather. The contents page inside the front cover of the earlier Index lists the four sections into which the volume is divided:

1. Index of the Whole Musick in Alphabetical Order
2. Index of all the Overtures
3. Contents of the Musick in Score
4. Alphabetical Index of all the Songs whose parts are wrote out.¹¹

There are no separate lists of chamber or harpsichord music. Harpsichord pieces are marked as such in the left margin, and many of the quartet and quintet entries are marked 'in Quartet book', meaning perhaps that they were not kept with the rest of the music on the shelves, but separately in a set of volumes for chamber music. The number of chamber works in the Society's possession was too great to be contained in one book. This arrangement was changed for the 1782 Index, where the quartets and quintets are listed under the letter 'Q' in the index at the front. In the later Index also the harpsichord music is listed on the leaf before the index at the back. The later index does not contain the list of songs, probably because of its length; instead it refers back to the earlier one. The complete list of instrumental music in both Indexes appears in Appendix H.

A discussion of the contents of the two Indexes will be found in the author's M.Mus. dissertation, 'The Repertoire of the Edinburgh Musical Society, with reference to the Indexes of 1765 and 1782 and other Society papers: an initial computerisation of the material.'¹² The information there shows that after the 1765 Index was written, it was used in subsequent years to list music which was added to the Society's collection, but new entries were not dated. The 1782 Index is largely a copy of the earlier one. In a total of almost 400 entries, only 22 are unique to one or other Index. Eight entries appear only in the 1765 book, and 14 only in the 1782 book. Three items are scored out in the 1782 lists:

Alberti: *10 Concertos in 5 parts*, op. 1
Albicastro: *Sonatas in 3 parts*, op. 3 (old)
Gentili: *Sonatas*, op. 1 (old).

¹¹ This refers to instrumental parts for the accompaniment.

¹² University of Edinburgh, 1994. Apart from the lists of works which follow, the comments in this thesis regarding the Indexes are in addition to those in the dissertation.

There is no record of these being played. The indication 'old' beside the opus numbers probably meant that the copy itself was in poor condition, and this might have led to the music being given or thrown away.¹³ The five works which do not appear in 1782 are:

Abel: 6 *Quartets*, op. 7
Abel: 6 *Concertos with Harpsichord*, op. 11
Schetky: 6 *Solos for Violoncello*
Barthélemon: 6 *Concertos*, op. 7
Handel: 6 *Concertos for Organ*, op. 7.

These five works were more recently composed, and were played in the years covered by the plan books, with the exception of the Abel concertos. The Abel *Quartets* were played at concerts in 1769, and 1780-85. Barthélemon's *Concertos* were played in 1771, and Handel's *Organ Concertos* in 1783 and 1785. Schetky appeared many times from 1778 giving solo performances on the cello, but it is not possible to identify exactly what he played; although it is reasonable to conclude that they were his own compositions, they cannot be linked directly with his published collection of the *Six Solos*. The work of these composers in all cases was well-liked, and the most probable reason for the absence of the items from the Index is that the music had been borrowed and not returned at the time the Index was made. The Directors issued requests from time to time to the players and the gentlemen members to return borrowed music, as on 29 November 1782:

Resolved Mr. Ross is to give no Books out without a Rect [receipt], and when any performer wants Books out, he is not to give them without an order from a Director.¹⁴

The works which appear only in the 1782 Index are:

Boccherini: 6 *Quartets*, op. 33
De Giardini: Overture *Astarto*
Haydn, J: *Overtures* in C,D,E,F
Haydn, M: *Periodical Overture* no. 56
Jomelli: Overture *Chaune* [This is a mis-reading of *Catone (in Utica)*]
Kellie: *Periodical Overtures* nos. 25 and 28
Mozart: *Quartets* op. 10
Mozart: *Miscellaneous Quartets*
Pleyel: *Quartets* nos. 1,2,3,6,9
Pleyel: *Quintets* nos. 8,9
Richter: 6 *Concertos*
Rigel: 3 *Symphonies*
Smethergell: 6 *Symphonies*
Stamitz Jr: 6 *Symphonies*.

¹³ See the reference on p. 68 to the sale of Lord Colville's music, of which these items may have been part.

¹⁴ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 18, and a reference to borrowing music on p. 66.

The above works appear only in the later Index because they were bought by the Society after 1782, indicating that it was used, as was the earlier one, to record purchases after the assembly of the Index. The Pleyel works, for example, were bought in 1784 and 1787.¹⁵ The Haydn Periodical Overture was first published in 1783.¹⁶ (The overtures by Kellie, however, were first published in 1769 and 1771 respectively, and were played by the Society in those years. Since the Society subscribed to the issues of the overtures by Robert Bremner, they must simply have been missed out of the earlier index when works subsequent to 1765 were entered.) Apart from the preceding items, everything listed in the two Indexes is the same. The small number of works added to the 1782 Index indicates that the practice of entering newly-bought music in the Index had become of less importance than before. The record-keeping of the Society in the years from 1782 was much less detailed than in previous years, as the Minute Books show. Most years only list the accounts and the names of those elected, and it is likely that this lessening of effort also extended to the listing of new music.

The five columns at the right side of the pages of the Index books were often used for numbers, and an examination by database has enabled some conclusions to be reached as to their meaning.¹⁷ The numbers indicate storage places, probably shelves, for the different parts of each work (1st violin, 2nd violin, viola or tenor, cello, and horns or other wind instruments).

The second index in each volume consists only of overtures, listed by title. These also appear in the first index listed by composer's name. The third index is of 'Contents of the Musick in Score' and contains the names of the oratorios performed on a regular basis by the Society. These are discussed in the section on 'Oratorio and Ladies' Concerts' below. This Index also lists an unnamed oratorio by Pergolesi (possibly the one referred to below in the table of songs), and an unnamed overture in manuscript.

In addition to the oratorio scores discussed in the section below, there were some vocal scores added to the third part of the 1782 Index. These comprised books

¹⁵ GD 113/5/164/257 (accounts of the Society 1786-7).

¹⁶ D. Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and the Periodical Overture', *Soundings*, no. 7 (1978), p. 82.

¹⁷ See J. Macleod, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

of songs made for the Society, one of which included songs copied for Miss Rodburn in 1759.¹⁸ It is identified with her name, and possibly was in her possession for some years, as it was not included in the 1765 Index. Other volumes include collections of favourite songs in various operas not mentioned in the copying accounts, and probably purchased.¹⁹ The number of such volumes owned by the Society had grown substantially by 1782, as by then there was a total of 71 titles. Many of them were collections of instrumental parts copied for a singer, as above, and others were the accumulation of purchases which are listed in Appendix G.

DISPERSAL OF THE SOCIETY'S MUSIC

The size of the Musical Society's library was enormous, especially when it is remembered that many of the titles were of sets of six or twelve works. After the Society was wound up, it is not known what happened to the music. When the sale of St. Cecilia's Hall took place, the Articles and Conditions of Sale offered:

3. The whole Seats and Benches and other Fixtures presently in the large Hall or in any other of the apartments Excepting and Reserving only the Organ, Furniture, Musical Instruments, Musick and a few other Articles specified in an inventory signed with reference hereto.²⁰

From this notice it is clear that the music was not for sale, but the papers of the Society which were preserved in the estate of Gilbert Innes contain no music, and there are no items in the library of the Faculty of Music in Edinburgh or in other libraries in the city which can be definitely linked with the property of the Society.²¹ There is one set of string part books in the Reid Library of the Faculty of Music whose contents reflect strongly the popular repertoire of the Society.²² They contain Corelli's op. 6. concertos, concertos by Stanley and Geminiani (op. 2), overtures by Handel, and a concerto by Festing, which are all in the Indexes of the Society. There are also violin works by Morigi (the first violin parts of 6 sonatas for

¹⁸ See Appendix J for mention of the items copied.

¹⁹ *Scipione in Carthagina* (Galuppi), *Enrico* (Galuppi), *Dido* (Hasse), *Alceste* (Lampugnani), *Merope* (Terradellas), *Didone Abbandonata* (Perez) and others.

²⁰ Quoted in papers of Prof. Newman, held in Reid Library, Faculty of Music, University of Edinburgh, from an advertisement for the sale, no reference given.

²¹ Dr. David Johnson, in a private communication, has mentioned seeing one volume of Handel's works in the Society's binding in Edinburgh Public Library, but the library, when asked by the author, was unable to trace it.

²² Reid Library, ref. D 45-50.

two violins), and the same composer has two entries (for concertos) in the Indexes. Other composers, Leclair and Mendoza, appear in the part books but not in the Indexes.²³ There is however no identifying mark of any kind on any of the volumes to link them with the Society. John Cranmer suggests that Natale Corri may have taken or bought some of the music, as the content of the concerts which he put on in the city in 1799-1800 did not vary from those of the Society.²⁴

Research for this thesis has enabled a preliminary study of the first collection of known copies of Musical Society scores which have survived.²⁵ It is possible that the music was distributed among interested members of the Society at the time of the sale of the building, since the volumes which are now available for study belong to the present Duke of Buccleuch, a descendant of the Governor of the Society at the time of its dissolution. The collection is at present being catalogued by the county archivists.²⁶

The papers contain a hitherto-unknown index of some of the Society's music, in the form of a thematic catalogue, with the name 'St. Cecilia's Hall' on a pasted hand-written paper on the front cover.²⁷ This is the first evidence that the Society possessed an index of this kind, with the opening themes of each movement written out, and its contents are listed in Appendix M. The repertoire in the single volume includes some of the most popular works in the concerts, but by no means all. The opening three or four bars of each work are hand-written on one page, with the name of the work, opus no., number in the set and key on the opposite page. The hand is neat and the copying done with very few errors. The first part of the index dates from no later than 1772. The latest work in it is the *Periodical Overture* no. 36, published in July of that year. There are two other parts to the catalogue, again with the opening themes displayed, listing later works for seventeen and thirty two 'books', i.e. players, and these are described in Appendix M.

Two questions arise in the consideration of this volume. Firstly, why include these particular works? The selection in the index follows no recognisable

²³ Leclair – 6 Sonatas for 2 violins, op. 3, Paris, 1730; Mendoza – ms. Concerto, ms. Sonata.

²⁴ Cranmer, 'Concert Life', p. 117.

²⁵ I am grateful to Dr. David Johnson for information regarding the location of this music in the Record Office, Northampton.

²⁶ See Appendix M for a complete list of these works.

²⁷ Ref. no. MC 2.4.

pattern, and was perhaps a personal choice of the copyist, since it includes only one work by the Earl of Kellie, one by J.C. Bach, but six by Giuseppe Sammartini and five by Avison. This does not accord with the preferences shown in the concert programmes, in that both Kellie and Bach were among the most frequently-played composers. There is no indication at the present time, however, of the identity of the copyist, nor is there any clue as to whether there were companion volumes for this one. The name on the cover seems to point to its being an official volume of the Society rather than a private undertaking. Secondly, why make the index at all? The Society had in its library all the works in this index, and there would seem to have been no need for an extra volume to identify the works listed. Further research may well provide answers to both questions, when the Boughton collection has been more thoroughly studied.

PURCHASE OF MUSIC

The two resources for details on this subject, the Society Minute Books and the Innes of Stow papers, are very different in the sorts of information they provide. In the first, scattered items appeared throughout the years in various forms. There were references to payments for single works and for music in general. In the first accounts (for 1727-28), William McGibbon received 3 gns. for two copies of his own Sonatas, and 1 gn. for a Geminiani concerto.²⁸ In 1734 Hugh Clerk, a Director at the time and brother of Sir John Clerk, was reimbursed for three purchases of music on behalf of the Society amounting to £6-16-6, including two copies of 'Felton's Concertos'.²⁹ These transactions are typical of the comparatively few details which appear in the Minute Books. Apart from the non-specific purchases itemised in the accounts as simply 'for music', the members often acted for the Society, or the purchase was made directly from the musician.

In the accounts in the Innes papers, much more specific detail is listed in the itemised bills. Although the entire span of years from 1747 (the year of the first set of accounts in the papers) to 1797 is not completely covered, the Innes papers have all the accounts which Robert Bremner sent the Society from 1754-80. In the years

²⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. I, pp. 6-7.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 39. William Felton (1715-69), minor canon of Hereford cathedral and well-known as an organist and composer.

after 1780 there are many fewer accounts, mainly from Corri and Sutherland.³⁰ The earliest purchase of music recorded in this source was in 1746, when Hasse's *Concerto* op. 6 was listed on a bill submitted in June 1747 with works by Handel, Greene and Stanley.³¹ Only the Hasse had the year 1746 written beside it, and the others were supplied in 1747. The Society therefore obtained the concerto at least six months before it was paid for. Many of the accounts from the music-sellers covered more than one year, some as many as four years.³²

The amount of money spent on music by the Society at different times is difficult to define exactly, because of the scarcity of accounts at some points, and also the fact that the bills available for study covered varying lengths of time. In the table below for the years 1751-90, all available figures have been grouped in five-year periods to take account of the haphazard nature of the billing, and averaged out.

Table 4.1. Expenditure on music.

<i>Years</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Average per year</i>
1751-55	£60-12-0	£12-2-4
1756-60	£89-6-4	£17-17-3
1761-65	£82-6-6	£16-9-4
1766-70	£57-1-4	£11-8-3
1771-75	£59-15-9	£11-19-2
1776-80	£64-13-1	£12-18-7
1781-85	£30-8-8	£6-1-9
1786-90	£31-16-8	£6-7-4

The years from 1755-65 were clearly the highest in expenditure, when the Society was reaching the height of its success as a social institution both before the building of St. Cecilia's Hall and in the immediate period afterwards. The smaller sums spent from 1765-80 maintained the Society's stocks and introduced new music as well, as will be seen in the analysis of repertoire below. The halving of the average expenditure after 1780 reflects the more difficult financial situation of the

³⁰ This Edinburgh firm was run by Domenico Corri's son John and his partner James Sutherland, until Sutherland's death in 1790. See Cranmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-210 for a full description of music shops in Edinburgh at this time.

³¹ GD113/5/208/1/3.

³² E.g. GD113/5/208/4/16, an account from Balfour and Hamilton for the years 1747-51.

Society (discussed in Chapters 3 and 7) and, although there was no suggestion of it in the Minutes, it may have been that buying less new music for a library which was already well-supplied was one economy measure which the Society was able to implement.

The pattern of subscribing to an edition of a work was first set in 1733, when a minute 'ordered that the Governour in name of the Society shall sign for Ten copies of Mr. McGibbon's Sonatas to be published'.³³ Over the years, for example, the Society subscribed to works by Pasquali (an overture in 1752 and two more in 1753), the Earl of Kellie (two overtures in 1763), Schetky (six sets of trios in 1773) and Urbani (three copies of his book of Scots songs in 1793).³⁴ The members clearly believed in supporting their employees, and, in the case of the Earl, their best-known Scottish composer. Subscriptions were also made to works with which there was no close personal connection. The Society received the volumes of the edition of Handel's works edited in London by Dr Samuel Arnold in the late 1780s,³⁵ and it also supported the edition of Scots songs produced by William Napier, published in London in 1790.³⁶

The music bought by the Society was overwhelmingly instrumental. Analysis of the accounts and other sources by date shows that in the years up to 1739, the balance seems fairly even between Italian works and the music of William McGibbon, the local composer and principal violinist of the Society. The song book and the *Minuets* by James Oswald may also be considered local.³⁷

Purchases in 1727 –	Corelli <i>Concertos</i>
	Dallo <i>Sonatas</i>
	Geminiani <i>Concerto</i>
	McGibbon <i>Sonatas</i>
	Vivaldi <i>Concertos</i>
1728	McGibbon <i>Overtures</i>
1729	Geminiani <i>Concerto and Overtures</i>

There were no purchases recorded in 1730-33.

³³ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 33.

³⁴ Ibid., vol. II, p. 55; GD113/5/208/17/38; EMS Minutes vol. III, p. 81; *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 147.

³⁵ GD113/4/164/67 – a letter from Dr. Arnold asking for payment after the delivery to Edinburgh of vols. 39-83 and 84-106.

³⁶ GD113/4/159/204.

³⁷ James Oswald (1710-1769) was a musician and dancing master in Dunfermline until he moved to London in 1741. See Purser, *Scotland's Music*, pp. 178-188.

1734	Festing <i>Concertos</i> McGibbon <i>Sonatas</i> Oswald <i>Minuets</i>
1735	Thomson <i>Collection of Scots Songs</i> McGibbon <i>Sonatas</i>

There are no purchases recorded in 1736-38.

1739	Sammartini <i>Three Concertos</i>
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The works listed above for which the provenance is known are those of McGibbon, from whom the Society bought directly, the book of songs which came from the Edinburgh music-seller James Balfour, Sammartini's *Concertos* which were bought from James Oswald, and the 1729 Geminiani purchase which came through a member of the Society, Walter Pringle. As a whole, the amount of information for a span of twelve years is not large. The following tables illustrate some patterns in the buying of music which may be derived from the increased details available in the accounts for subsequent years.

Table 4.2. Number of works by composer purchased in 1747-60. ³⁸

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Number of works purchased</i>
Handel	28
Geminiani	5
G. Sammartini	5
Marcello	4
Avison	3
John Humphries	3
Pasquali	2
Felton	2
Campioni	2
Barsanti	2
Hasse	2
Richter	2

The Society bought only one work in the period by the following: Greene, Stanley, Porpora, McGibbon, Hebden, Palma, Galliard, Rameau, St. Germain, Berg, Ricchiotti, Castrucci, Alcock, Morigi, De Giardino, Defesch, Burney, Abel, Boyce, Garth and Hellendaal, making a total of ninety eight items from 1749-60.

There are no records of any purchases from 1739 to 1747, but from 1747 to 1750 the growing interest in the music of George Frederick Handel is apparent in the acquisition of trios and overtures by him along with vocal collections and the first score of a work which was to be a favourite for the rest of the century, *Acis and*

³⁸ The names appear in chronological order of acquisition.

Galatea. Some interest in native English music also led to the purchase of cantatas by John Stanley and concertos by John Hebdon. The increase in Society activity in the 1750s is reflected in the availability of more details of music buying in the accounts. Also at this time the Society started to buy works by composers who were popular in London, such as Carlo Campioni's *Trios*, the *Concertos* op. 2 and 3 by Giuseppe Sammartini and Carl Friedrich Abel's *Overtures* op. 1 and 2. The style of the music remained Italianate, and the larger number of professional players in the Society meant that the repertoire could be expanded with the latest compositions.

Table 4.3. Number of works by composer purchased in 1761-70.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Number of works purchased</i>
Handel	12
Geminiani	6
Marcello	5
Abel	5
Schwindl	5
Avison	5
Wagenseil	4
Pugnani	3
Richter	3
Purcell	2
J. Stamitz	2
Bauch	2
Meder	2
Filtz	2

One work by each of the following was bought in the decade: Barbandt, Galuppi, De Giardini, G. Sammartini, Chilcot, Cocchi, Jomelli, Arne, Corelli, Stanley, Zannetti, Pelegrino, Basani, Zinnello, Jackson, Nardini, Pasquali Ricci, Holzbauer, Toeschi, Barsanti, Rosengrave, J.C. Bach and Glosser, making a total purchase of 91 items. The *Concertos* by Glosser and one set of *Overtures* by Richter were returned to Robert Bremner, with no reason given.³⁹

In 1761-70 the pattern of buying changed emphasis slightly, away from Handel and including more composers, especially contemporary ones, in their repeat purchases. A different strand was introduced with the first appearance of overtures by Franz Xaver Richter, and the publication in 1761 of the Earl of Kellie's *Overtures* op. 1. The position of the Earl as a Director and after 1766 as Deputy Governor made it possible for him to promote the works of Richter, Friedrich

³⁹ GD113/5/209/3/29. The returns were noted at the foot of the bill.

Schwindl, Johann Filtz, Johann Stamitz and later Richter, all of whom were connected to him through his stay in Mannheim. This will be illustrated in detail in the analysis of the concert plans below. The 1760s and especially 1764 were years when substantial sums were spent on music. The account submitted by Robert Bremner for that year, itemised in the previous chapter, amounted to forty pounds, an enormous bill. The Society was marking the opening of its own concert hall by investing in its stocks of music.

Because the amounts of music bought were much lower in the next two decades, they are considered together.

Table 4.4. Numbers of works by composer purchased in 1771-90.

1771-80		1781-90	
<i>Composer</i>	<i>No. of works purchased</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>No. of works purchased</i>
Haydn	5	Haydn	17
Giardini	5	Pleyel	9
Abel	4	Handel	3
Wagenseil	2		
Holzbauer	2		
Sirmen	2		
Boccherini	2		
J.C. Bach	2		
Barthélemon	2		

1771-80: Single works by: Schwindl, Schetky, Welsh, Spangenberg, Schroeter, Collett, Handel, Toeschi, Van Maldere, Kammell, Giordani, C. Stamitz, Rauzzini and Davaux were bought in 1771-80. Total purchases: 40 items.

1781-90: Single works by: Wesley, Regel, Abel, G. Sammartini, Pasquali Ricci, Boccherini, C. Stamitz, Clementi, Mozart, Hofmeister, Pieltain and Kozeluch were bought in 1781-90. Total purchases: 41 items.

The years 1771-90 were not such a high-spending time on music, according to the evidence of the accounts, and this is borne out by the figures above. Only about half as much music was bought as in the 1760s, but the items show a continuing desire to be up-to-date with the latest works of Abel, Felice de Giardini and Luigi Boccherini. The Society bought its first work by Joseph Haydn in 1771, a set of unidentified quartets,⁴⁰ and went on to buy 23 more of his overtures, symphonies and chamber works in later years. The rapidity with which these were bought suggests that his music very quickly became a staple of the concert

⁴⁰ GD113/5/209/6/41. Possibly his op. 1, but no identification appears in the papers.

programmes, and this is confirmed by the analysis in the repertoire section below. In June 1772, the only composition by a woman in the possession of the Society was bought from Robert Bremner in London,⁴¹ the second violin concerto by Maddalena Sirmen, and three copies of 'Madame Syremen's Concerto' were also bought from Neil Stewart in Edinburgh in November of the same year.⁴² Sirmen was Italian, a pupil of Tartini, and was in London in 1772 on a tour with her husband.⁴³ The Society's interest in her music, and their purchase of it in the year of its publication, provides a good example of their awareness of what was happening in the larger musical world in London. In the 1780s purchase of music continued at a slower pace than before, understandably so, since the Society's finances were shaky and previous years had already equipped its library to an extent which was probably unrivalled anywhere except in London. Works by Haydn and Handel were added, and chamber music was becoming more popular, with several works by Ignace Joseph Pleyel (e.g. op. 2 and op. 6 *Quartets*), along with the *Quartets* op. 10 by Mozart.

Total recorded purchases for 1791-95 amount to nine items:

Haydn	<i>Symphonies</i> 7 and 9
	<i>Quartet</i> op. 72
Pleyel	<i>Overtures</i> 7 and 8
Hook	<i>Concerto</i> op. 55
Ebdon	<i>Sacred Music</i> (2 books)
Handel	<i>Messiah</i> (parts)
Urbani	<i>Scots Songs</i>

The survey of patterns of music-buying supports the comments made more fully in the repertoire section, that the Society had certain favourite works and composers through its life, but that it was also open to a wide variety of experience, as shown by the large number of single purchases.

COPYING OF MUSIC

The Musical Society papers in the Innes of Stow collection contain detailed, but not complete, accounts of the payments made by the Society to several copyists. The first of these dates from 1757, so they may be used to expand the information

⁴¹ GD113/5/210/1/52.

⁴² GD113/5/210/2/45.

⁴³ *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers*, J.A. Sadie & R. Samuel, eds., London, 1994, pp. 287-8.

on the programmes of concerts in years not covered by the plan books. They give titles of works in which the Society was obviously interested, otherwise they would not have requested the copies. A receipt addressed to John Dallas⁴⁴ for the period July 1756 - June 1757 lists the following works as being copied into the chorus books of the Society and also into the personal books of some individual members:

Chorus for *Alexander's Feast*
Do. *Admeto*
Do. *Messiah*
Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*
Boyce's *Solomon*
Coronation Anthem
Acis and Galatea
*Samson*⁴⁵

The table in Appendix J lists the information from the accounts. Each copyist very often listed the name of every item, as justification of his bill for the labour involved. The entries are copied *verbatim* from the accounts, except where names of works, in square brackets, have been inserted for clarification. When the information on works copied is studied in conjunction with the known purchases in Appendix G, conclusions can be drawn regarding the music performed by the Society outwith the period covered by the plan books. For example, the following works were bought from Robert Bremner in 1756-7:

1756 Aug 10	Dr. Boyce's <i>Solomon</i>	£1-2-0
Dec 17	Oratorio of <i>Samson</i>	£0-10-6
1757 Mar 3	Purcell's <i>Te Deum</i>	£0-2-6 ⁴⁶

The same works were copied around the time of their purchase. There was a public performance of *Solomon* in March 1757⁴⁷ for which the copies were needed, and a similar performance of *Samson* in March 1758. There is no record of any such presentation of the Purcell works, but the conclusion must be that they were given during the Society's own Friday concerts for which the programmes do not survive.

⁴⁴ One of the copyists employed by the Society. See Appendix J for a complete list of works copied which were in the accounts of the Innes papers, with dates of bills and names of copyists.

⁴⁵ GD113/5/208/10/17/2.

⁴⁶ GD113/5/208/10/14.

⁴⁷ See Appendix I.

The majority of copies made in the 1750s were of parts for the oratorio concerts, followed by instrumental parts of works such as an *Allegro* by Lord Kellie in 1756-57, a *Sinfonia* by him in 1757-58, and a number of overtures by composers such as Handel, Mancini and Jomelli in 1754-55. In a bill for the year 1755-56, among several oratorio and other choral items, John Dallas listed a series of additions to some Handel overtures which was unique among the copying papers. Over the months of February – April 1756 he added a movement to thirteen named overtures (listed in Appendix J), which were probably intended to lengthen the performance time for the pleasure of the audience and the gentlemen players. The extra movements are mostly dances, such as a gavotte, minuet or bourrée, along with three airs. There is no indication of where the additional material came from, but it was likely to have been taken from other Handel works.

The quantity of items copied at this time other than for oratorios was small, and included Handel's *Coronation Anthems* in 1756-57, and cantatas by Stanley and Lord Kellie in 1757-58. Only in 1759 was there a change of emphasis towards songs which continued throughout the next decade, as the Society had presumably acquired as many copies of the popular oratorios as it then needed. The instrumental parts of thirty two Italian songs were copied for the singer Miss Rodburn in 1759, with three other songs in their entirety.⁴⁸

Songs were a strong element of the copying done in the 1760s, because there were more singers employed in these years than at any other time.⁴⁹ Almost every entry in the list mentions Italian song and some were copied in large quantity, as in April 1763 when John Kearcher sent in a bill for forty two pages of Italian duets and trios.⁵⁰ He also provided fifteen Italian songs in 1767. The songs are occasionally named: Handel's 'Ombra cara' in 1764, with on the same bill one of the very rare examples of an English song, 'If o'er the cruel tyrant' from Arne's *Artaxerxes*. The next bill was for the same song and another solo from the same work, 'In infancy'. The conclusion may be drawn that extracts from Arne's opera were a feature of the Society concert programmes at this time. Various *Psalms* by Marcello were also copied, and must have been well represented in the concerts. The Society had been

⁴⁸ GD113/5/208/13/34/2.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 5, the section on singers.

⁵⁰ GD113/5/208/17/36.

buying the volumes of this work from 1758-64, and possessed all eight.⁵¹ Instrumental parts were copied in greater numbers than before, but they also appeared in the purchases made, for example in 1763, when three sets of a Handel concerto were bought from Bremner in London.⁵² The Society's finances were divided between paying for properly printed parts and having them copied by local copyists. Perhaps choices were made on the basis of time, i.e. when the parts were needed for playing. Without the programmes for the concerts in the early 1760s, it is difficult to know the answer to this.

In the 1770s the amount of copying was reduced, and the subject matter returned to oratorio rather than song. The number of songs obtained by purchase and by copying in the previous decade probably supplied all that the Society needed for some time. The oratorios mentioned were those which had been performed for many years, and the parts perhaps needed replacing (e.g. *Acis and Galatea*, *Samson*, *Alexander's Feast*). But the need for copying was diminishing, as Appendix J shows, with twenty one accounts in the 1750s and fourteen in the 1770s. It continued at the same level in the next decade, with a greater number of instrumental parts being produced than of songs or oratorio parts. Many of these were for works brought by visitors to the concerts, such as Giornovich in 1783-84 and Cramer in the following year. Stabilini, the leader who arrived in 1784, had parts for his own concertos and solos copied several times, for instance the bass ripieno part of eight of them in 1784. At this time the number of copies made of instrumental works was often more than one, especially of Haydn's overtures. It is not known whether the Society sold on any of its music to members, but this would have been a convenient way for members to have supplied themselves.

REPERTOIRE DETAILED IN THE PLAN BOOKS

In the following analysis, vocal items, special concerts and oratorio presentations are considered in later sections, and the tables deal only with instrumental pieces. The lists are presented by year, and contain the works first mentioned in that year, together with any subsequent listing for each work. Thus

⁵¹ Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739) set the first fifty Psalms of the Bible in cantata style, to Italian words which paraphrased the biblical text. They were published in Venice in 1724-26. An English edition was published in 1757.

⁵² See Appendix G.

the table for 1768 is the longest, and establishes the basis of the continuing body of the repertoire for the later years. Works which appear for the first time in subsequent years are listed in the tables for those years. Works are named as they appear in the Indexes of the Society, and in the chronological order in which they are listed in the plans. Where several opus numbers appear together in an entry, the work in question was not identified by opus in the plan, and all possible numbers from the Society's holdings are given. The number under each year is the number of performances of the work in that year. Single overtures or symphonies within a set have been grouped together under that set, as in the first entry for example: the figures include all performances of the Abel op. 4 *Overtures*, with no differentiation between the six single works which form the set. (The entries in the Plan Books often did not state which of the set was to be played).

Table 4.5. Repertoire played in 1768, with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-													
	68	69	70	71	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	
Abel op. 4 Overtures	5		6	1	1			2				1	1	
Abel op. 7 “	12	8		6	12	6	1	2	3	4	2		2	
Abel op. 1 “	3	6		6		1	1		2	2	1	3	3	
J.C. Bach op. 1 Overtures	4	5	1	8										
J.C. Bach op. 3 “	17	3	12	2	4		8	8	6	2		3	3	
J.C. Bach op. 8 “	8	4		1		8	3							
J.C. Bach Per. Ov. 1	1			1								1		
J.C. Bach Per. Ov. 15	2	1	2							1		1		
Cannabich Per. Ov. 10	2	1	2							1		1		
Corelli op. 6 Concertos	6	7	10	4	4	11	7	7	8	7	5	11	6	
Festing op. 5 Concertos	5	5		1										
Filtz Per. Ov. 4	1	1	1		1			1				1		
Filtz Per. Ov. 8	1	1	2		2				1	1		1	2	
Filtz Overtures [no op.]	5	4	11					6						
Galuppi Overtures [no op.]	3	9	6	7										
Geminiani op. 2 Concertos	4		7	8	8	4	1	4	3	5	2	1	1	
Geminiani op. 3 “	2			9	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	1		
Graun, Richter [colln.]	6	5	4		1									
Handel –Alexr. Severus	1	1	1	2		1	3	1	1					
Handel – Joshua	1	2	2					1						
Handel – Judas Maccabaeus	1													
Handel – Pastor Fido	2		1	1				1	2		2	2	1	
Handel – Solomon	1								1					
Handel – Sosarmes	1													
Jomelli –Attilio Regolo	1			2										
Jomelli Per. Ov. 14	2		1					2	3	1	3	1	1	
Kellie Concerto no. 6	1			1			1				2		1	
Kellie Overture no. 1	1	1	1							1	3	1	1	
Kellie Per. Ov. 13	2	1	3		1			1	3	2	5	3	3	

Composer	68	69	70	71	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Kellie Per. Ov. 17	1	2	2	1	4	2	1					1	1
Kellie Quartets	3	4						2					
Kellie Symphony no. 5	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1	
Pasquali 12 Sym. & Ov.	1												
Ricci Per. Ov. 2	1	1	1			1		1				1	
G.B. Sammartini	8	8	11	7	1	1							
Schwindl op. 1 Overtures	8		3	2	6	1	1	3		1			
Schwindl op. 2 Overtures	11		12	6	5		1	2	1				
J. Stamitz Per. Ov. 11	1	1	2				1	1				1	
J. Stamitz Per. Ov. 12	2	1	2									1	
J. Stamitz Per. Ov. 3	2	1	2	1	1			3	2	3	2	1	
J. Stamitz Per. Ov. 6	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2		1	
J. Stamitz Per. Ov. 7	1	1	2	1	1		2	2	1	2		1	
J. Stamitz Per. Ov. 9	1	1	1									1	
[unknown] Ov. Elpidia	1	3	2	2									

Notes to Table 4.5:

1. Per. Ov. = Periodical Overture. Dates of acquisition and performance, if known, are given in Appendix K.
2. Graun, Richter [colln.] = Graun, Richter, Chalon, Febro & Spangenberg, *Six Overtures*, pub. c. 1765. The exact item was never named in the plans.
3. All Handel works, unless otherwise stated, are overtures to the relevant opera or oratorio.

It is immediately clear from the above which works were the most popular in 1768, and also which of them continued to be played, forming the basis of the concert repertoire. Some reduction in numbers of performance can be seen in all cases, except for the Corelli op. 6, but Abel's op. 7, J.C. Bach's op. 3, Geminiani's concertos, Jomelli's *Periodical Overture* no. 14, Kellie's *Periodical Overture* no. 13 and Stamitz' *Periodical Overtures* nos. 3, 6 and 7 held the interest of the Society throughout the period under discussion. These works represent well the Society's liking for a mixture of the old and the new in their listening and playing. The Corelli and Geminiani⁵³ pleased those whose taste was for the music which had

⁵³ W. Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth Century England*, Oxford 1992, Chapter 3, discusses the correlation between Corelli, Geminiani and Avison and the reasons for their continuing popularity, including Geminiani's stay in London and his promotion of Corelli's music, as well as Avison's enthusiasm for the Italian style, all of which applied equally to the Edinburgh musical scene. Apart from the Society's liking for Avison's music, a local connection between the members of the Society and Geminiani must have been established when he visited Edinburgh, shown in an entry in the accounts for 1760, dated 5 August. 'Expences with Mr. Geminiani and the Masters in the Tavern Trying over his musick', EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 125. No mention of rehearsal of music occurs elsewhere, and this is an interesting clue to the arrangements made by the Society. The visit of Geminiani took place before the building of St. Cecilia's Hall (1762), when the musicians probably did rehearse in

featured from the beginning of the Society's life, Abel and Bach brought the more up-to-date London sound, and the *Periodical Overtures*, especially those by Stamitz, followed the most modern stream of the time, the Mannheim sound promoted by the Earl of Kellie.⁵⁴ Equally interesting to note are the works which either enjoyed brief popularity at this time, or were coming to the end of their life with the concert audiences. The Notturmi op. 9 of Sammartini were hardly played after 1778, and the works of Galuppi, the Graun/Richter collection, and the J.C. Bach *Periodical Overtures* were all replaced by other works in later years.⁵⁵

Table 4.6. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1769 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-											
	69	70	71	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Abel Quartets op. 7, 8,12	1				1		4	2	3	1		
Abel op. 2 Overtures	6	1								1		
Abel Per. Ov. 16	2	2								1		1
Abel, Giardini Quartets	3						5	2	3	1		
J.C. Bach – Alesandro Ov.	1	1										
Crispi Per. Ov. 5	1	1					1			1		1
Festing op. 3 Concertos	1		2			1						
Festing op. 9 Concertos	4		2									
Handel Gr. Concertos op. 6	4	6	2		1	4	4	1	1	1	3	1
Handel – Acis & Galatea	1					2		1				
Handel – Ariadne	1							1	1	3		3
Handel – Esther	1	2	1		3	1		1		2	1	1
Handel – Hercules	1	1			1					1		
Handel – Occasional Orat.	1							1	1	4	1	6
Handel – Otho	2				1							
Handel – Pharamond	1		2		1	2		2		2		
Handel – Samson	1									3	1	
Handel – Saul	1				1	4	2	2	4	2	3	1
Kellie Ezio Overture	1	1			1	1	1					
Kellie Overture no. 2	1	1		1			2	2	4	1	1	
Kellie Per. Ov. 25	1		1	3	1		1	1		2	1	
Kellie Symphony no. 3	1	1	1					1	2	3	1	
Piccinni Per. Ov. 20	1		1					1	2	3	1	

a tavern room, as the rent that was paid for Mary's Chapel was for performance nights only. After the new hall was available the Society's players would have been able to use it for practice, as it was the property of the Society.

⁵⁴ Burchell, 'Polite or Commercial Concerts?', p. 73, suggests interestingly that the Earl of Kellie might have had some influence on the contents of the *Periodical Overture* series, since it contains a high proportion of Mannheim composers. This is possible, but it is also likely that Bremner, its publisher, was being guided by requests from London musicians, and those in regional societies, who wanted the most fashionable sound.

⁵⁵ Holman, 'The Colchester Partbooks', pp. 590-1, comments on the similarly varied nature of the Colchester repertoire, and a tension between members regarding tastes for 'old' and 'new' works which was also present in Edinburgh and is discussed below.

Composer	69	70	71	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Pugnani Per. Ov. 19	1		1	1							1	1
Richter op. 1 Overtures	8	1	2	1								
Richter op. 2 "	16		2	3		2	1		1			1
Richter op. 4 "	8		2	1								
Richter Per. Ov. 18	1	2									1	1
Schwindl op. 3 Overtures	5			5								
C. Stamitz Trios	2											
J. Stamitz Orchestral Trios	7	6										

The most striking new works in this year were the overtures of Richter, which obviously enjoyed a great vogue, but which did not go on to be staple items of the later concerts. Fashion was as much a reason for popularity as familiarity, but works such as the Richter sets of overtures had a short 'shelf life' compared with the Handel *Grand Concertos* or the overture from *Saul*. The Society continued to play newer compositions such as the *Periodical Overtures* and works by the Earl of Kellie, but it may be seen that Handel still took a large place in the repertoire. There is also an increase in the number of chamber pieces to add to the four Kellie quartets played in 1768.

Table 4.7. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1770 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-										
	70	71	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Abel op. 14 Overtures	2		12	21	11	8	5	4	8	8	2
Avison op. 4 Concertos	5	1	1	1				4	1		1
Ciampi op. 5 Overtures	1	3									
Cocchi etc. ⁵⁶	2										
Geminiani op. 7 Concertos	2	1	1							1	
Geminiani Concertos from Corelli's solos [no op.]	3	6			8	5	3	2	2	4	2
Handel – Admetus	1			3							
Handel – Siroe	1										
Handel – Water Musick	1	3				1					
Hasse, Vinci, etc [colln.] ⁵⁷	3	1									
Hasse, Vinci – Polifemo ov.	1										
Hebden op. 2 Concertos	2	1		8	2						
Kellie Overture no. 4	3			1	2	2	2	3	3	2	2
Porpora – Arianna ov.	1										
Pugnani Quartets [no op.]	1										

⁵⁶ Cocchi, Graun, Galuppi & Jomelli, *Six favourite Overtures in 8 parts from the late Italian operas, for violins, hoboys and French horns with a bass for the harpsicord and violoncello*. Walsh, London, 1762. As with the Graun/Richter collection, the actual piece was not specified.

⁵⁷ Hasse, Vinci, Galuppi and Porpora, *6 Overtures in 7 parts for violins, French horns, hoboys &c. with a through bass for the harpsichord or violoncello, from the late operas compos'd by Sigr Hasse, Vinci, Galuppi and Porpora*. Walsh, London, 1748.

Composer	70	71	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Pugnani Concerto [no op.]	3										
Ricci op. 2 Overtures	1	8				2		1			
Richter op. 3 Overtures	5	1	4	1							
G. Sammartini Grand Concs. op.11	1	1		1	2						
G. Sammartini Grand Concs. op. 8	1	2		1	5						
[unknown] Sinfonia d'Inferno	2					1					

The performance pattern for Abel's op. 14 *Overtures* indicates that this collection became a favourite of the Society, and the same may be said on a lesser scale of Kellie's *Overture* no. 4 and Avison's op. 4. The other works which were most played in 1770 and 1771 (Ricci op. 2 and Richter op. 3) had almost or entirely disappeared by 1778, and it is clear that far fewer of the works listed here were repeated in later years.

Table 4.8. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1771 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-										
	71	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	
J.C. Bach – Orione Ov.	1										
Barthélemon op. 7 Concertos	5										
Campioni Sonatas [no op.]	6										
Corri Overture [no op.]	1										
Geminiani op. 4 Concertos	3	1	2	2							
Handel Grand Adagio & Musette	1										
Handel – Alcina	1		1	2	1			1		1	
Handel – Alexander	1				1						
Handel – Alexander’s Feast	1							2			
Handel – Amadis	2										
Handel – Ptolomy	1	1		1	1	1	1				
Handel – Radamistus	2										
Hellendaal op. 3 Grand Concertos	2										
Kellie Per. Ov. 28	1				2	1	3	1		1	
Pugnani Quintets [no op.]	2	6		2	1						
Ricciotti Concertos [no op.]	1		2								
Richter Concertos [no op.]	1										
G.B. Sammartini Concertos da Notturmi (Barsanti) op. 6	4				1						
G.B. Sammartini Concerto [no op.]	4		3								
C. Stamitz Concerto [no op.]	1			1							
Tartini Concertos [no op.]	1										

In this year as in the previous one there were several works repeated during 1771 which failed to take a permanent place in the concerts. The only work introduced which kept its popularity was Kellie's *Periodical Overture* no. 28. The contents of the Society's music library were extensive by this time, and it may have been that the Directors felt that the huge quantity of music bought in the 1760s should be properly used, resulting in a policy of playing more pieces over the concert season.

The gap in information about the concert plans from 1771 to 1778 might be filled on the basis that works which were played before and after the hiatus would have been played in the intervening years as well. It is reasonable to assume that those which did not appear in the concerts from 1778 declined in popularity at some point between 1771 and 1778. The tables have made clear that there was a great commitment in the Society to some composers and sometimes to specific works, but that others were played perhaps once and then put aside, and that a few works were enthusiastically taken up for a short time.

Table 4.9. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1778 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-								
	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Boccherini Quintets op. 12, 20	4	3	1	3	1	2	1		1
Borghi Solo Concertos	3	5	1			1		3	1
Davaux Sinfonia Concertante op. 7	4	4	4		3	1	5	6	6
Giordani Overtures [no op.]	1		3	8	5	2	3	6	2
Gossec Per. Ov. 32	2	1							
Guglielmi Per. Ov. 31	1		1	2	1	5	1		1
Haydn Quartets op. 1,2,5,7 ⁵⁸	1	3		1	1	6	6	10	
Maldere op. 4 Overtures	1	4	2		3			2	1
Schetky Cello Solos op. 4	2		1		2	1	1		
Schetky Overture [no op.]	1	5	8		2				
Sirmen Solo Concertos op. 3	1								
Vanhal Per. Ov. 45	1	1				1			

⁵⁸ Op. 5 was the number given to a group of six pieces, four for flute, violin, viola and bass, and two for two violins, flute, oboe, cello and bass. They were published by Bremner in 1773 (*Catalogue of Printed Music...in the British Museum*, ref. g. 413.ii), and are identified in Hoboken, vol. I as: II: D9, G4, D10, D11 (quartets), 1 and 11 (sextets). Op. 7 was the group of six quartets published by Hummel in 1769, now known as op. 9 (Hoboken, vol. I, p. 381).

A change in emphasis in the concert programmes is evident from the figures above. The pieces which were introduced in 1778 show a liking for newer-style works, such as the Sinfonia Concertante form which gave opportunities for the soloists employed by the Society to play more challenging music.⁵⁹ Davaux's op. 7 remained in the repertoire, as did the chamber works also introduced here. The performance of Haydn's quartets increased in the 1780s and the Boccherini quintets had a steady presence. This shows an increase in the wish of the Society to listen to the professional players, who could provide a higher standard of playing, and to be an audience rather than to have members participate in every item. The movement away from being an amateur performing society is also apparent in the number of entries in the plan books from 1778 onwards which list an 'ad libitum' or otherwise unidentified concerto or solo, often with the name of the performer. Such entries did not appear in the previous plans, with the exception of one – 'concerto or solo Mr. Fischer' – on 9 August 1771, when it would seem that the oboist was on a visit to Edinburgh.⁶⁰ The change in balance of the programming took place in the years between then and 1778, by which time the plans for the year contained twenty three listings of the type described. The relative prominence of chamber music is also borne out in the plan books by the number of entries which simply say 'quartetto' or 'miscellaneous quartets'. There were twenty one throughout 1778. The programming perhaps depended on what personnel was available. There were several months in this year when the name of the leader, Puppo, did not appear with an item 'ad libitum' – March to mid-June – and the quartets were prominent in the plans at that time, to be played in the absence of the leader of the orchestra.

Table 4.10. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1779 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-							
	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Abel op. 10 Overtures	1	1	2				1	
Cambini Concertos [no op.]	6	5	1					
Davaux Quartets op. 7	1	1	9		2	2	2	2
Giardini Trios op. 17, 20	1	3					2	
Gossec Per. Ov. 33	1				1	1		1
Gossec Per. Ov. 34	2							
Gossec Per. Ov. 35	2							
Handel – Berenice	2		1		1	3		
Handel – Messiah	1					1		2

⁵⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, p. 106, makes the same point about the rapid growth in popularity of the Sinfonia Concertante in London concerts.

⁶⁰ Fischer also visited on 24 and 31 July 1778. The only evidence for these visits is in the plan books. There was no payment noted in the accounts.

Composer	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Handel – Rodelinda	1		1	1		1		1
Handel – Tamerlane	2						2	
Handel – Xerxes	1							
Kammell Collected Ovs. ⁶¹	2	2						
Sacchini Quartets op. 2	3							
G. Sammartini Ovs. op. 10	1							
G. Sammartini Ovs. op. 7	1							
C. Stamitz Quartets op. 2	4	1	1					
C. Stamitz Symphonies [no op.]	4	1		1		1		2
Vachon Quartets op. 5, 6	4	3	5	2	1			

In this year, there is a return to the pattern of numerous pieces played only a few times each. Trios and quartets were again prominent, but the most obvious change from the previous year is the number of Handel overtures brought into the programmes. There were none in 1778. This perhaps indicates more willingness on the part of the members to participate in playing works with which they had some familiarity. That these overtures appear as additions to the repertoire in this year must not obscure the fact that they may well have been played in years for which there is no information available, and the Society's allegiance to the music of Handel was of long standing. The plans also included twenty seven items 'ad libitum' by Puppo and several other unidentified chamber and concerto works.

Table 4.11. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1780 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-						
	80	81	82	83	48	85	86
Avison op. 9 Concertos	1	8	6	7	5	8	4
Avison op. 8 Sonatas	3						
J.C. Bach –Astarte Ov.	1			1	2	3	
Boccherini Per. Ov. 54	1	1	1				
Cambini Quartets op. 3,7,10,11,13	2	4	1	1			
Cambini Sinfonie Concertantes [no op.]	1	3	9	4	1	4	3
Davaux Concertos op. 5	1	1	1				5
Dittersdorf Per. Ov. 38	1						
Graaf Quartets [no op.]	7						
Handel – Rinaldo	1		1				

⁶¹ Six Overtures in eight parts by the following composers: Stamitz, Vanhall [actually by J. Haydn], Mislevecheck, Princess Royal of Saxony, Hayden [not Haydn], Vanhall. The whole collected by A. Kammell. London, 1773.

Composer	80	81	82	83	48	85	86
Haydn op. 10 Overtures ⁶²	1		7	8	13	4	5
M. & J. Haydn Per. Ov. 40	1	2	4				
Maldere op. 7 symphonies	5	6	4			1	
Maldere op. 1 Overtures	1	1	5		1	8	1
Ricci Sinfonie Concertanti Op. 9	3	2	3	1			
G.B. Sammartini op. 2 Concertos	1	1					
G. Sammartini op. 5 Concertos	1		2				
Schetky op. 2 Trios	1						
Schetky Sinfonia Concertante	1						
Schmitt Per. Ov. 51	1				1		
Shaw Violin Concertos [no op.]	1			2	2	1	
J. Stamitz Per. Ov. 41	1						
Vanhal Per. Ov. 47	1			1			

There were a large number of additions in this year to the concert plans. They included both items which were played only once and others which established themselves. The Sinfonia Concertante form continued to please the audience, although Schetky as a local composer might have hoped for more than one performance of his own piece. The few appearances by his works in the Society programmes perhaps indicates a feeling of duty on the members' part to support the artist, but a disinclination to afford him a permanent platform. The great popularity of anything by Haydn shows above, but the most interesting point is the inclusion, only once in 1780 but frequently thereafter, of the op. 9 *Concertos* by Avison. The Society had bought this set of concertos first in 1 June 1766, from John Callender, the music-seller in Newcastle who was the agent for Avison's work.⁶³ But only his op. 4 set (bought in 1755) was played in 1770-71, and that was not adopted as keenly as the op. 9 from 1781 onwards. Avison was a pupil of Geminiani, and was known to have a harsh opinion of the 'new' music which came from the Continent. It is possible that the inclusion of his work at this time in the Society's history might be seen as action from those in the Society who were attempting a return to the older music and values which they were fighting to

⁶² Three symphonies identified in Hoboken, *Haydn Verzeichnis*, Mainz, 1957-78 (3 vols.), vol. I as I: 41 (composed 1771), I:B2 (identified by Hoboken (vol. I, p. 270) as the *Periodical Overture* no. 40, of which the first two movements were composed by Michael Haydn and the third by Joseph), and I:20 (composed 1764).

⁶³ GD113/5/208/19/30.

preserve. It would appear from the number of performances of the concertos that this part of the membership had some success.⁶⁴

Table 4.12. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1781 with later entries.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Year 17-</i>					
	81	82	83	84	85	86
Avison op. 6 Concertos	1			1		
Filtz Per. Ov. 30	1					
Giornovich Violin Concerto	1					
Gossec Symphonies [no op.]	2					
Haydn Overtures in C,D,E,F	1	5	11	12	20	
Holzbauer Per. Ov. 29	2	1		1		
Koczwara Overtures (periodical) ⁶⁵ op. 10	2					
<i>Composer</i>	81	82	83	84	85	86
Lidel op. 2 Quartets	1					
Rigel Symphonies [no op.]	1					
Schwindl op. 1 Symphonies	1	2				
Smethergell Symphonies [no op.]	7	1				

Again the enthusiasm for Haydn is obvious, and the fashionable appeal of Smethergell's symphonies, which are listed in a copying account for July 1781.⁶⁶

Table 4.13. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1782 with later entries.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Year 17-</i>				
	82	83	84	85	86
Boccherini Per. Ov. 55	1				
Corelli op. 5 Concertos	1				
Corelli op. 3 Sonatas	1				
Davaux op. 7 Concertos	2		2	4	4
Handel – In Scena d'Inferno	1				
Handel – Theseus	1				
Schetky Concerto [no op.]	4		1	1	
Vanhal op. 7 Quartets	1		1	3	

Support for Schetky was improved in this year, and the attempt to preserve older music was continued with the programming of works by Corelli and Handel. The number of different works was reduced in comparison to earlier years, and the plan books recorded forty items 'ad libitum'.

⁶⁴ See the discussion in Chapter 7, especially the section on William Tytler.

⁶⁵ These were not part of the series published by Bremner.

⁶⁶ GD113/4/164/204.

Table 4.14. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1783 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-			
	83	84	85	86
Arne – Artaxerxes Overture	1	1		
Cramer Violin Concerto	1			
Gossec Per. Ov. 36	1			
Handel Organ Concertos op. 4,7	3		2	
Handel – Susanna	1			
Haydn Overture in G	2			
M. Haydn Per Ov. 56.	2	2		2
Piccinni Per. Ov. 21	2		1	
Schetky Pastorale [no op.]	2		1	
Schetky Quartets [no op.]	1			
Vanhal Overtures [no op.]	1			1
Vanhal Per. Ov. 42	1	4	2	

The *Periodical Overtures* provided a constant resource to the Society, with three being revived in this year (having been published some years before) and no. 56, published in 1780, being played for the first time.⁶⁷ The overture to Thomas Arne's opera *Artaxerxes* is another example of what the members regarded as 'older music'. The opera had been enormously successful when first produced in London, and Tenducci had sung in its production in Edinburgh in 1769.⁶⁸ The appearance of songs from the opera in the copying list in 1765 argues that the overture too might well have been played at a time for which there are now no concert plans. Its inclusion after an interval of some years suggests that it had retained its popularity. As before, the plans had many 'ad libitum' items, and 1783 also recorded a visit for five concerts in July and August by the London violinist and concert promoter Johann Peter Salomon. No indication was given in the plans of what he played, but it is possible that on 4 July, he might have taken part in playing a Haydn quartet which was listed in Act II, and on 11 July he might have taken part in playing the third quintet of Boccherini's op. 20 set also in Act II. He appeared on 25 July, and 1 and 8 August, but there were no similar chamber works listed on those dates in which he could have participated.

⁶⁷ See Appendix K for dates of publication.

⁶⁸ Farmer, *History*, p. 305.

Table 4.15. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1784 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-		
	84	85	86
Avison op. 3 Concertos	1		
Gluck Per. Ov. 60	1		
Porpora Ariadne Overture	1		
Vanhal Per. Ov. 50	1		

The much reduced number of additions to the concert plans can be accounted for to a large extent by the ever-increasing number of 'ad libitum' items and such pieces as 'New Overture', for example, on three occasions in a concert on 30 April. The person writing this plan noted that 'Mr. Corri has the new overtures', but it is impossible to say whether this comment applied to the day of the concert or the day on which the plan was written, which could have been some time previously. (The appearance of such an item three times in one plan seems only to indicate laziness on the part of either the planner or the clerk who recorded the concert programmes, but fortunately this did not occur often.) The soloists sharing the 'ad libitum' items during the year were the cellist Schetky, violinist Joseph Reinagle, his brother Alexander (harpsichord) and violinist/leader Girolamo Stabilini, who probably arrived in Edinburgh in May and was first recorded in the plans on 11 June.

Table 4.16. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1785 with later entries.

Composer	Year 17-	
	85	86
Handel Hautboy Concerto op. 3	2	8
Piccinni Per. Ov. 22	1	
Piccinni Per. Ov. 23	1	
Ricci Per. Ov. 24	1	
Ricci Concertante Symphonies op. 9	3	

The number of additions continued to be small in 1785, showing that the established repertoire was more than sufficient for the Society's programming needs, and also that the trends already noted were continuing. The reaching back to the past is also seen in the *Periodical Overtures* – these had been published in 1767 and 1768.

Table 4.17. Works added to the concert repertoire in 1786.

Composer	Year 17-
	86
Geminiani op. 6 Concertos	2
Handel - Deidamia	1
Herschel Per. Ov. 26	1
Kellie Overture in ms.	2
Richter Sinfonia Concertante	1
Urbani Overture to The Siege of Gibraltar	1

The music listed here does not reflect any purchases made at the time, so the Society was still relying on the contents of its library to fill the concert plans. Urbani's overture is not listed in the 1782 Index, and probably belonged to the composer. The manuscript overture by Kellie was listed on 24 March as '[with] clarinets obligato' and may have been the same one as was played on 13 December 1771 ('MSS Overture by Ld. Kellie w/ Clarinett solos'). The concerts had been visited during February by the clarinettist John Mahon, which may have reminded the Directors of the Kellie work. There is no indication that Mahon was in Edinburgh in March to play it, but he did return to the concert on 28 July.

After the end of the plan books in August 1786, clues to subsequent programmes may be sought in the purchase of music which continued on a much smaller scale than previously until 1795. There is evidence of only two items being copied after 1786, both instrumental parts (the flute part and bass of a Haydn overture, and instrumental parts of a recitative and rondo by Giuseppe Sarti, neither of which is named). Music bought, however, included more copies of Haydn overtures and quartets, nine overtures and chamber works by Pleyel, and replacement copies of Handel songs and parts of *Messiah*. The Society was moving forward by playing such new composers as Pleyel and Mozart, a set of whose *Quartets* identified as 'op. 10'⁶⁹ were bought in 1787, but it did not move at a pace which left behind the established favourites. A perceived reluctance to 'move with the times' is one of the possible reasons for the failure of the Society and is

⁶⁹ The opus no. does not match modern identification of Mozart's works. The work was the set of six string quartets now numbered: K387, 412/417b, 428/421b, 438, 464 and 465, published in Vienna in 1785 as op. 10, and dedicated to Haydn. In his article on the chamber works in *New Grove*, 1980, vol. 12, pp. 704-705, Stanley Sadie points out that Mozart undoubtedly 'sought to emulate Haydn's op. 33' with this set. The Society bought the Haydn work in 1788.

discussed in Chapter 7. A compromise between the old and the new may be seen in the programmes from 1778 in particular, and the continued playing of works performed in 1768 shows how many of them were still popular in later years, leaving less space in the plans for any newer experiences. The Society could still claim enormous credit, however, for being the body which introduced the music of Handel and Haydn to Scots audiences, which encouraged the performance of what was the latest music from London, which provided a platform for the Earl of Kellie to promote his work and allowed the audience in the city to benefit from the hard work which the Directors of the Society contributed in order to keep their vision of the concerts alive.

ORATORIO AND LADIES' CONCERTS

Apart from the Friday evening concerts, the Society gave performances of oratorios two or three times a year, and there are many references to them in the minutes and accounts. They were given as public, i.e. Ladies', concerts, for which tickets had to be bought by members and allotted to the ladies who had requested them.⁷⁰ The St. Cecilia's Day concert in December was also a performance of an oratorio.⁷¹ The works from which the selection of a programme was made and which are contained in the third section of the Indexes were:

<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	<i>Solomon</i>
<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>
<i>Deborah</i>	<i>Messiah</i>
<i>Samson</i>	<i>Israel in Egypt</i> (all by Handel)
<i>Stabat Mater</i> - Pergolesi	
<i>La Passione di Nostro Signore Gesu Cristo</i> - Jomelli	
<i>Giocas</i> [a mis-spelling of <i>Gioas</i> , <i>Ré di Giuda</i>] - J.C. Bach	

Records of the purchase of all of these appear in the Minute books and in the Innes papers, and are listed in Appendix G.

The great enthusiasm of the Musical Society for Handel's music made it inevitable that his choral works would interest them, and their resources in about 1750 were reaching a level where they felt able to attempt an oratorio production. In the years after 1750, there is more information available on these special concerts.⁷² In 1771, for instance, Mr. Scott was paid 2 gns. 'for performing in the

⁷⁰ See Chapter 3 for comments on Ladies' tickets.

⁷¹ See Appendix I.

⁷² See the section on the Concert Season for a discussion of reasons for the rise of oratorio.

oratorio', and Mr. Hamilton the same for 'ditto and teaching the boys.'⁷³ Local musicians such as these two men were paid to take part in the oratorios to give extra voices in the chorus. The boys were pupils in Heriot's Hospital (school), and were regularly brought in to supplement the chorus as trebles, since the Society membership was male. The paid solo singers were expected to take part in the oratorios as well as the concerts, as is seen in the contract given to Tenducci in June 1768 'to sing and play on the harpsichord in the concert and at the oratorio'.⁷⁴ The career of Cornforth Gilson, a cathedral singer from Durham who was in charge of the productions for many years, is described in Chapter 5. The commitment to the works of Handel is apparent from the above list of works, and also from the permission given to the Society by Handel himself in 1753 for them to make copies of any of his then unpublished oratorios. The correspondence between the Society and Handel started in December 1753 with the following letter, which conveys the strong appreciation by the members of his music:

Sir, The Gentlemen of our Musical Society who have been greatly indebted to your excellent compositions, for their success in Pleasing the Publick these many years past, have lately attempted two of your Entertainments; *Acis and Galatea*, and *Alexander's Feast*, the first in July last and the other on St. Cecilia's Day.

The great satisfaction expressed by the audience on both these Occasions as it did justice to the inimitable Genius and Expression of the composer, has encouraged these Gentlemen to Exhibit in this place a further Specimen of these admirable Works, that have so long been the delight and Wonder of those who have been so happy as to hear them, performed under your own management and Direction. This Design however it is impossible for our Society to carry into Execution without being obliged to you for a copy of the Recitatives and Choruses to some of your oratorios, which indeed they would not ask, were the[y] not informed that you have allowed such copys, to other Societys that have applied for them. The Performances of our Society have hitherto been confined to the compositions of Corelli, Geminiani and Mr. Handel. We are already possest of most of your oratorios and other works that are published, and we have particularly all the Recitatives and songs of the *Messiah* excepting one namely, (How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, and Bring glad tidings of good things), and therefore could we obtain your order to Mr. Smith for writing out for us that Song, and the Choruses to that Sacred Oratorio, and the Recitatives and Choruses of any of your other works, We

⁷³ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 42.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

would ever retain the most Gratefull Sense of the favour, and with pleasure reward Mr. Smith to his satisfaction: at the same time we can give you the strongest assurances that whatever you are pleased to favour us with in that way, shall never be communicated to others or suffered to go any further, and we flatter our selves that you will not have any Difficulty of obliging in this matter a numerous Society composed of Persons of the first Distinction in North Britain, and particularly, Sir, yours etc.,

Signed by the Governor and Directors.

P.S. Please send any return you give to this to the Earl of Morton's house in Upper Brook Street.⁷⁵

The P.S. is only one of the elements which the Directors used to emphasise their good standing. The fulsome tone was no doubt the product of the Society's genuine sense of Handel's enormous stature in the London musical world, and they wished him to understand that members had heard his work there. But they also knew that obtaining what they asked for would be an incalculable benefit to the Society in the future, and to their ability to attract audiences. The Directors must have been delighted to receive this note, minuted on the same page as their letter:

Mr. Handel's Return to the above letter.

Mr. Christopher Smith at the Blue Periwig in Dean Street Soho, has Mr. Handel's orders to let the Gentlemen of the Musical Society at Edinburgh have any of his compositions that they want, if they write to Mr. Smith he will obey their commands.

The permission was not dated, but the Society took up the offer on 27 April 1754:

Sir, Mr. Handel has been so good as to allow the Musical Society of Edinburgh the Favour of a copy of such of his compositions which are not published, as they shall call for, and has Directed them to apply to you for the same. You will therefore make out for them in Score the Recitatives, Choruses and such other parts of the Oratorio of *Deborah* as are not printed. Let them be wrote upon paper of the same size with the printed Score, in such a manner as to be put in the proper places of the Score, that so a completed copy thereof may be bound up altogether. We should be glad to have this as soon as your conveniency can allow, and you will afterwards get the trouble of making out some others of Mr. Handell's works which he has allowed us. And in the mean time I have ordered Messrs. Innes and Clerk Merchts., in Lime Street Square, to satisfie you for this copy, which you'l please deliver them to be sent here. You will please

⁷⁵ Ibid., vol. II. pp. 60-61.

also give Messrs. Innes and Clerk a printed copy of the Words of the Oratorio of *Deborah* to be sent along with the Musick. I am, Sir, yr. most humble servt., Signed William Douglas, Treasurer.⁷⁶

There is no record of payment to Smith for copying *Deborah*, nor is there any indication of when the copy was received, but he was paid £5-7-0 in June 1755 for '[copying] *Judas Maccab[a]eus*'.⁷⁷ The bill from Robert Bremner to the Society in 1754-55 included charges for 'paper for *Deborah*' and 'paper for *Judas Maccabaeus*', undoubtedly because the Society had ordered copies of what Smith had sent.⁷⁸

The Society made use of its privilege once more, in January 1756:

Sir, I am again to make a demand in consequence of Mr. Handel's permission in favour of our Musicall Society – That is to beg you'll cause write out for us in the same manner we had the former, The Recitatives and Choruses in the oratorio of Sampson (sic),... Signed William Douglas, Treasurer.⁷⁹

The same agents were used to make payment, and the same request was made for paper of the size of the printed score. The arrangement had clearly been successful, and Smith was paid £4-9-6 in July 1756.⁸⁰ This was the last time that the Society made any request of Smith. The works he provided were performed on many occasions.⁸¹

The only references to the gentlemen members taking part in the chorus come from later in the century. George Thomson mentioned Gilbert Innes, Alexander Wight, John Hutton, John Russell Jun., and himself as 'cultivat[ing] that sacred and sublime music'.⁸² John Russell in a letter to Gilbert Innes dated 15 February 1789 expressed some concern about the state of the chorus in a performance of *Alexander's Feast* to be given some weeks later. He named himself, Innes and Urbani in the tenor part, and three others, including George Thomson, in the bass, but could think of no-one else who might be of help.⁸³ Thomson's memories of the Musical Society, which were quoted by Chambers, were written in

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 62.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 69.

⁷⁸ GD113/5/208/8/26. See also the relevant entries in Appendix J.

⁷⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 75. The article 'Handel in the Papers of the Edinburgh Musical Society' by Phyllis Hamilton in *Brio*, 1964, pp. 19-22, dates this letter 1754, and this has been quoted in *Händel-Handbuch*, Basel, 1985 (4 vols.), vol. 4, p. 478. 1756 is the correct year.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

⁸¹ See Appendix I.

⁸² Quoted in Chambers, *Traditions*, p. 250.

⁸³ GD113/4/158/379.

1847, rather more distant from the events than the letter of John Russell. The latter's anxiety was a truer picture of the state of the oratorios in 1789.⁸⁴ The numbers of performances over the years, however, make it clear that the Society was responsible for the popularising of oratorio as a musical form, and choral singing as an activity, in the city of Edinburgh and probably in the rest of Scotland.

ORATORIO INFORMATION IN THE PLAN BOOKS

The information in Appendix I on the oratorio performances is taken largely from the Society accounts, because the plan books have only occasional references to them. Those which exist, however, add to our understanding of what the Society did, and of particular interest is the entry for 19 February 1768:

Alexander's Feast
 Company in the room
 440 Ladys
 80 Members
 50 Stranger Gentlemen
 70 Performers
 Total 640

The total was an astonishing one for a room which was said by Arnot to be 'capable of containing a company of about five hundred persons.'⁸⁵ It is difficult to assess how the number of performers was divided between players and singers. There is payment in the accounts for eight boys from Heriot's Hospital,⁸⁶ but the orchestra must have been enlarged for the occasion. Arnot, writing in 1779 about ordinary concerts, gives a number of about 14 string players, harpsichordist, organist and *maestro* with up to six on flute, clarinet and horn as needed. This does not approach the figure above, and the chorus must also have been enlarged for the number of performers to reach 70. In a minute of 26 January 1768,⁸⁷ the oratorio was said to be in rehearsal for 'the St. Cecilia's Concert which [the Directors] appointed to be held on the 19th February', and so it was a special performance. Perhaps it was the extraordinary size of the audience which led to its being recorded in the plan book.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ See Chapter 7 for comments on the ending of the oratorio performances.

⁸⁵ Arnot, *History*, p. 291.

⁸⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 13.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸⁸ See Appendix M for a description of the copies of oratorio scores belonging to the Society which are in the Boughton House collection.

On 5 August 1768 a performance of Jomelli's *La Passione* was noted with '268 Ladys at 5/-, 60 Strangers' and at the bottom of the page 'The Castle Bassoon present'. The Society paid for the services of military musicians from time to time to make use of their wind and brass players, and noted their attendance as an aid to the accounting. Two other works were noted in the next months – *Judas Maccabaeus* on 16 December 1768 and *Acis and Galatea – an Oratorio* on 11 August 1769, but neither had details of the size of the audience. The name of the work was simply written at the top of the page. The only other oratorios to be mentioned in the plans are:

Acis and Galatea again on 20 December 1782, when it was accompanied in the plan by an organ concerto played by Stephen Clark and a solo [violin] concerto by Joseph Reinagle.

Alexander's Feast on 13 February 1784, with no other works, and no details of numbers.

The entries for these works probably owed their presence to a careful clerk who transcribed more information on the programmes than others had. There appears to have been no particular reason for recording these concerts and omitting others.

There also seems to be no logical reason behind the recording of the few programmes of concerts for St. Cecilia's Day which are named and detailed. The patron saint of music's day is 22 November, but the concert was often held in December, and occasionally (as in 1768, mentioned above) at other times, although with no explanation for the postponement. The first in the plan books was on 2 March 1770, with a three-act plan which had a Handel chorus at the end of each act.⁸⁹ The remainder of the programme consisted of five overtures, and three songs sung by Signor Luciani (one in each act), which were not named but which might have been from an oratorio.

On 21 December 1770 there were the usual three acts, but with only one instrumental item (an unidentified symphony), all else being vocal solos or choruses. The programme was:

⁸⁹ Act I – 'O, the Pleasures of the Plains' (*Acis & Galatea*), Act II – 'Sing unto God' (*Judas Maccabaeus*), Act III – 'The many rend the Skies' (*Alexander's Feast*).

Act I	Chorus – ‘Awake the Trumpet’s Lofty Sound’ Song – Miss Gilson Bach Song – Mr. Gilson Do. Chorus – ‘O First-created Beam’ Song – Mr. Luciani Chorus – ‘Then Round about the Starry Throne’
Act II	Symphony Song – Mr. Luciani Chorus – ‘To Song and Dance’ Song – Mr. Gilson Song – Mr. Luciani Chorus – ‘Fix’t in His Everlasting Seat’
Act III	Song – Gilson ‘Great Dagon’ with Chorus Song – Miss Gilson Song – Mr. Luciani Song – Miss Gilson ‘Let the Bright Seraphim’ Chorus – ‘Let their Celestial Concerts all Unite’

This concert is particularly interesting in that all the named vocal items were from one oratorio – *Samson*. It is possible that the untitled songs were also from this work, and it is useful to note that the order in which the choruses were sung is the order of the works in the oratorio. This might be described as a programme of extracts, or a much shortened version of the full work. This is the only plan of its sort, as no other has such a concentration of items from a single oratorio. It does however give some basis for thinking that similar concerts must have taken place, contrary to the opinion expressed by Jenny Burchell, that ‘there are no references to ‘selections’ from an oratorio in place of the whole work’.⁹⁰ It would be unsafe to assume that this plan was unique, and further research may bring more to light.

The oratorio scores belonging to the Society which have been discovered in Northamptonshire could offer clues to at least one other shortened performance, in this case of *Acis and Galatea*. The contents page of this work has various marks against the titles of many items.⁹¹ There is a set of circles and one of crosses, forming different combinations of songs and choruses. This score, after further investigation, may give some clues to choices made by the organisers of performances which were only partial.

One other concert which was marked ‘St. Cecilia’s Day’ was entered on

⁹⁰ Burchell, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁹¹ Boughton Ref. no. BS 4.II.11.

18 February 1780, with a programme similar to that of 2 March 1770. The three choruses in this concert were all from *Acis and Galatea*, and the overture to the work was included in Act I.⁹² In addition there were two other concerts which were not identified as in honour of St. Cecilia, but whose programmes suggest that they were of the same type as those discussed above. These were:

24 December 1784. This concert had the overture to *Messiah* in Act I, and the songs 'Father of Heaven' and 'Pious orgies' (both from *Judas Maccabaeus*), sung by Signor Corri in Acts II and III.

23 December 1785. This programme was similar to that of the *Samson* concert in the strength of its vocal representation, but the items came from various oratorios. All were named, as follows:

Act I	'O Sleep' [<i>Semele</i>] – Pietro Urbani 'Angels ever Bright' [<i>Theodora</i>] – Maxwell Schaw 'Then Round about the Starry Throne' [<i>Samson</i>] – Chorus
Act II	'Comfort ye' [<i>Messiah</i>] – Urbani 'O Lord our Governor' [Marcello Psalm 8] ⁹³ – Schaw 'Hallelujah' [<i>Messiah</i>] – Chorus

The instrumental pieces were:

Act I	4 th Concerto of Handel's op. 3
Act II	8 Concerto of Corelli [op. 6] for Christmas
Act III	Pastorale on the Nativity Schetky

The concert was probably more for Christmas than for St. Cecilia, but the accounts show that it was a Ladies' concert (as the St. Cecilia concerts always were), and 75 tickets were sold.⁹⁴ Certainly the plan was unusual, and shows movement towards the idea of a selection from not just one work, but several. Perhaps it is an illustration of the trend away from complete oratorios and towards selections, described by Simon McVeigh as becoming apparent in London in the 1780s.⁹⁵ Although there is no indication of it in the Society papers, it is extremely likely that enthusiastic supporters of Handel's music in Edinburgh would have either followed

⁹² Act I – 'O, the Pleasures of the Plains', Act II – 'Happy We', Act III – 'Galatea dry thy Tears'.

⁹³ The *Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library* has a record of an edition of this Psalm printed in Edinburgh by Neil Stewart c. 1790, ref. H.1980.j.(2). It is possible that this was the edition used by the Society.

⁹⁴ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 57.

⁹⁵ McVeigh, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

closely the events of the Commemoration series of concerts in London, or might have been able to attend some of them. The strength of interest in Handel was still strong in Edinburgh and the members of the Musical Society would have needed little encouragement to support such a programme as was given in the concert above. The attitude of the Musical Society at this time was very similar to that of the Concert of Ancient Music, who promoted the Handel series, in their anxiety not to let the composers whom they had been used to hearing over the years be submerged by too much modern, especially foreign, material.⁹⁶

In her absorbing study of the connection between the popularity of oratorio and the main streams of eighteenth-century culture, Ruth Smith points out that many of Handel's contemporaries felt that the best religious music was 'refined, refining and exalting'.⁹⁷ Those who heard the oratorios were 'accustomed not only to meeting the source texts in domestic and church reading of the Bible, but to seeing them regularly descanted upon in popular magazines.'⁹⁸ The attitude of the Church in Scotland towards music was not one of approval, and the comment made by Smith regarding the Church in England – that it was very wary of the power of music because of its influence over the emotions⁹⁹ – could equally have been made of the Scottish Church. One of the reasons for the success of oratorio as a form of entertainment was that it provided a half-way house between a religious service and a theatrical performance, while being morally improving.¹⁰⁰ With reference to the ideals of spiritual and moral improvement which were discussed in Chapter 1, and which figured largely in the debates and writings of the literary clubs of Edinburgh, a connection can be seen with Smith's assessment of the attraction of the oratorio:

Verse of the stature of the Old Testament seizes and shakes the reader with almost unbearably strong emotion..... There is a sense that here, with relief and abandon, men of letters who were morally idealistic as well as linguistically sensitive, at last found the arena, truly heaven sent, for emotional release. The same enthusiastic emotion, expressed in identical words, was evoked in the audiences of the oratorios. Its music, they testified, had the divine power

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 22-24. See also Chapter 7 for the attitudes of members of the Musical Society.

⁹⁷ R. Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth Century Thought*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 85.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 126.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁰⁰ McVeigh, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65; Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

of the true sublime, rousing the mind, piercing the soul, and sweeping the listener to heavenly joy.¹⁰¹

The Musical Society may well have owed much of its success and longevity to the feelings described above. Just as much as the Scots songs and the performances of contemporary music, the oratorios provided an artistic and emotional experience which the members of the Society and their friends, families and guests supported. The members had the additional advantage of being able to participate in this experience, if they wished, an opportunity not usually available in productions outside the Society, which were controlled by professional musicians.¹⁰²

SPECIAL CONCERTS

The opening concert of each season might be expected to have been special, but a survey of those which appear in the plan books shows nothing of note, except the presence in five of them of an item by the Earl of Kellie, an overture or a concerto.¹⁰³ This does not provide a noteworthy pattern, as his works were well represented in other concerts. There was no effort on the part of the Society to single out the opening concerts; the plans were similar to all regular Friday concerts for members. There were other occasions, however, when a distinction was made in the plan books. Those which were concerned with either performance of oratorios, or St. Cecilia's Day concerts which included vocal choruses, have been described already, and those which included named songs are discussed in Chapter 5. The other concerts listed below are notable for various individual reasons:

24 July 1778.

A curious programme which included two overtures by Schetky, a cello solo by him, one solo item each by Puppo and Johann Christian Fischer (visiting oboist), and one song per act. The comparative lack of orchestral items suggests that either the orchestra was struggling for members at the time of year, or that the concert was some sort of showcase for the soloists on the occasion of Fischer's presence. (He played in the concert the next week also.)

¹⁰¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁰² Marr, *Music for the People*, pp. xiii-xvi, gives information on performances outside the Society.

¹⁰³ 1770 – overture no. 4; 1771 – concerto with clarinets; 1783 – overture no. 2; 1784 – overture no. 1; 1785 – overture no. 1.

8 March 1782.

This was noted as a 'Public Concert', which phrase appears nowhere else in the plans. The items included the *Epode of Horace* (an orchestral work by Schetky), and several vocal choruses and duets. The concert must have been a large production as some of the pieces appear in a copying account of the time.¹⁰⁴ The chorus sang 'O the Pleasures of the Plains' (a constant favourite) and 'Britons Strike Home' from Purcell's *Bonduca*, the only mention of any work by Purcell in the concert plans. Despite the public title, the concert does not appear in the accounts with ticket sales.

21 and 28 November 1783.

Both these plans have atypical notes on the programme.

21 – in Act III, the last item is 'Haydn's Overture in Eb if the Bassoon is there, if not the Overture in D'.

28 – the last item in Act III was Haydn's Overture in G. It was followed by the comment 'This overture has not been performed before.'

These unusual additions to the plans contribute a little to our understanding of how the concerts actually happened from week to week.

2, 9, 16 July 1784.

A visit by a bassoonist, Mr. Rose, in these weeks led to the programming of pieces for him in each concert: on 2 July an unidentified bassoon quartet, on the 9th the 29th *Periodical Overture* by Holzbauer with bassoon obbligato, and on the 16th an unidentified concerto, possibly by Rose himself. The evidence of visiting soloists' performances in the concerts is not normally as well-recorded as this example, and similar engagements must have taken place many times.¹⁰⁵

The glimpses of changes in the ordinary planning of the concerts afforded by the above examples indicate that much more was happening in the running of the weekly concerts than is at first apparent from a reading of the plan books. The evidence of visiting soloists is slim, but would repay further investigation to establish who came to the city, and how they were attracted, since it is doubtful whether artists such as Mahon, Salomon or Fischer would have made the journey to Edinburgh solely to play in the Musical Society's concerts. Future research into the newspapers of the time would show whether there were public concerts at which these visitors appeared. Their presence shows once again that the men in charge of

¹⁰⁴ GD113/4/164/196.

¹⁰⁵ See the reference to John Mahon's visit in February 1786, above.

the Society were willing to contribute time and effort to improve the musical life of the Society, and thereby of the city.

THE PLACE OF THE EARL OF KELLIE

The huge variety of works played in the concerts as indicated above is proof that the taste of the Society's concert audience was wide, although the tension between the 'old' and the 'new' music is clearly visible. George Thomson, in reminiscing about his days in the Society, wrote:

When the overtures and quartettes of Haydn first found their way into this country, I well remember with what coldness the former were received by most of the grave Handelians,...The old concert gentlemen said that his compositions wanted the solidity and full harmony of Handel and Corelli.¹⁰⁶

He ended his remarks by pointing out that in a very few years afterwards, the music of Haydn was considered outmoded, but blamed the ladies, saying that Haydn was 'the admiration and delight of all the real lovers and judges of the art in Europe!' ¹⁰⁷

The devotion of the Society to the music of Handel has been made clear. The list of his works played is longer than that of any other composer and it is evident from the years' tables above that the Society continued to introduce overtures and other works to the repertoire almost every year. Something more may be said of the output of the Earl of Kellie, who occupied a unique place in the history of music in Scotland at the time, and in the Society itself. The plan books show how often his pieces were played. The list of his Overtures, Symphonies and Concertos in the Index of Music of 1782 is confusing, referring to them by numbers which cannot be exactly related to works known to exist, except in the case of the *Periodical Overtures*. All four of these are in the Index, and the two earlier ones (nos. 13 and 17) were played 24 and 18 times respectively in the years covered by the plan books. The two later works (nos. 25 and 28) were played 11 and 10 times respectively.

Many more of Kellie's works are now lost, in particular the chamber pieces which were played in the Society's concerts and identified in the plan books only as 'Trio Lord Kellie' e.g. on 5 July 1771 or 'Quar[te]tto Lord Kellie' e.g. on 9 August

¹⁰⁶ Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

1771. There are numerous entries for 'Overture Lord Kellie' or 'Concerto by Lord Kellie',¹⁰⁸ which may be linked to the published editions of his overtures known to be in the Society's possession, and occasionally there is a little more detail, such as in the item on 15 November 1771 – 'Concerto Lord Kellie with Clarinets'. This might have been the Periodical Overture no. 17, but it is more likely to be a newer work, because the Periodical Overtures were almost always specified by number, or at least by that name.¹⁰⁹ There seems to have been no change to the way of naming pieces throughout the plan books, so it may be assumed that some or indeed most of the works not given a specific number were new.¹¹⁰ One reason why many of the above-mentioned works are now untraceable stemmed from the Earl's own character. A near-contemporary account explains their disappearance:

Part of [Kellie's] works is still unpublished; and not a little is probably lost. Being always remarkably fond of a Concert of Wind instruments, whenever he met with a good band of them, he was seized with the fit of composition and wrote Pieces in the moment, which he gave away to the Performers, and never saw again; and these, in his own judgment, were the best he ever composed.¹¹¹

Kellie's works were often placed at the end of a concert, whether orchestral or chamber pieces. This may have been because until his death in 1781, he was present himself and very probably playing. He would have been the attraction of the evening and the organisers might have given him this space to permit applause or the demand for an encore. For three weeks after his funeral concert in 1781, the concerts ended with a performance of one of his overtures. In 1782-86, the plan books listed overtures or symphonies by him on 70 occasions, so his music was not forgotten by the Society.¹¹² The most popular of his works were the *Periodical Overture* no. 13 and his *Overture* no. 4. His chamber music, however, does not appear in the plans after his death. This was either because he himself had led the chamber group, and those who remained felt unable to continue without him, or (less likely, as the professional musicians were available) because no-one else had the skill to play the music.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. on 28 July 1769, or 19 January 1770.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. on 2 August 1771 'Periodicall Overture'; 27 March 1778 'New Periodical Overture.'

¹¹⁰ For a discussion of the Earl of Kellie's music see Johnson, *Music and Society*, pp. 75-84, and the same author's article on Kellie in *New Grove*, 2nd edition, S. Sadie, ed., London, 2000, vol. 13, pp.464-465.

¹¹¹ T. Robertson, *Enquiry into the Fine Arts*, London, 1784, p. 438.

¹¹² 1782 - works played 11 times; 1783 - 15 times; 1784 - 22 times; 1785 - 11 times; 1786 (part year) - 11 times.

Written evidence for his contribution to the life of the Musical Society is scarce, but it is clear that the time when he was an office-bearer (1757-81) was the time of maximum expansion in the Society. He was involved in the running of the concerts as the Society readied itself for the great undertaking of the building of its new hall, and afterwards, when the custom-built premises allowed the concerts to become even more the centre of musical life of the city. Mention has already been made of his introduction of the Mannheim composers to Scotland, and the shift in taste which their music brought. His contribution probably cannot be overestimated, and it may be that future research will enable a clearer picture of it to be gained.

VOCAL MUSIC

Titles of songs appear with comparative rarity in the plan books, and the following table lists all named songs or choruses as they appear in the plans. Some have already been mentioned in the context of the St. Cecilia's Day concerts.

Table 4.18. Songs listed in the Plan Books.

<i>Title</i>	<i>Origin, if known</i>	<i>Date(s) sung</i>	<i>Performer(s) if known</i>
Caro ti lascio	Not in song index	26 Aug 1768	Tenducci
New song by Lord Kellie	Probably 'Death is now my only Treasure' ¹¹³	26 Aug 1768	Tenducci
O, the pleasures	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> - Handel	2 Mar 1770 18 Feb 1780 8 Mar 1782	Chorus
Sing unto God	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> - Handel	2 Mar 1770	Chorus
The many rend the skies	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> - Handel	2 Mar 1770	Chorus
Vorrei dirti	<i>La Passione</i> - Jomelli	22 Nov 1771	Luciani
Resurrection Hymn	<i>La Passione</i>	22 Nov 1771	chorus
L'onda dal mar	<i>Artaserse</i> [Vinci]	21 Apr 1780 12 Apr 1782 10, 17 May 1782, 8 Aug 1783	Signora Corri
Ombra cara	<i>Radamisto</i> – Handel	21 Apr 1780 28 Apr 1780	Signora Corri Signor Corri

¹¹³ Purser, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

Father of heaven	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	5 May 1780 26 Apr 1782 8 Aug 1783 12 Mar 1784 24 Dec 1784	Signor Corri " " " "
Nel chiuso centro	Cantata - Pergolesi	28 Apr 1780 5 May 1780 12 May 1780 (part)	Signora Corri " "
Quel volto amabile	Duetto by Perez	5 May 1780	Signor & Signora Corri
Dov'unque il guardo	<i>La Passione</i>	12 May 1780 3 May 1782	Signor Corri Not given
Voi dolce aurette	Not in song index	12 May 1780	Signora Corri
My faith and truth	<i>Samson</i> - Handel	4 Aug 1780	Signora Corri
Pria la vittima	Not in song index	12, 19 Jan 1781 1 Mar 1782	Signora Corri "
Will ye go to the ewe-bughts?	Scots	9 Feb 1781 8 Aug 1783 28 May 1784	Signora Corri " Not given
My lodging is on the cold ground	Samuel Harrison/ Irish air	9 Feb 1781	Mrs. Puppo
Britons, strike home	<i>Bonduca</i> - Purcell	8 Mar 1782	Duet & chorus, not given
Ah, non lasciarmi	<i>Didone Abbandonata</i> - Perez	12 Apr 1782 8 Aug 1783	Signor Corri Not given
Non ha ragione ingrato	<i>Didone</i>	3 May 1782	Not given
Rasserena il vago ciglio	poss. Gluck	14 Jun 1782	Not given
Dove sei	<i>Rodelinda</i> - Handel	14 Feb 1783 27 Jun 1783	Signora Corri "
Verdi Prati	<i>Alcina</i> - Handel	21 Feb 1783 12 Nov 1784	Signor Corri Not given
The soldier tir'd	<i>Artaxerxes</i> - Arne	21 Feb 1783 20 Jan 1786	Signora Corri Mrs. Stewart
I sigh and lament me	<i>Queen Mary's Lamentation</i> - Giordani	9 May 1783	Not given
Colin & Lucy	Cantata - Giordani	12 Dec 1783	Not given
O, the brooms	Scots	4 Jun 1784	Signora Corri
King's Anthem	Not in index	4 Jun 1784	Not given, with chorus
Rendi, o cara	Sarti	18 Jun 1784	Not given
Pious orgies	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	24 Dec 1784	Signor Corri
O sleep	<i>Semele</i> - Handel	23 Dec 1785	Urbani
Angels, ever bright and fair	<i>Theodora</i> - Handel	23 Dec 1785	Schaw
Comfort ye	<i>Messiah</i>	23 Dec 1785 21 Apr 1786 9 Jun 1786	Urbani " Mrs. Stewart
O Lord our Governor	Marcello - from Ps. 8	23 Dec 1785	Schaw

Hallelujah	<i>Messiah</i>	23 Dec 1785	Chorus
Sweet echo	Not in song index	17 Mar 1786	Mrs. Stewart
I know that my Redeemer liveth	<i>Messiah</i>	28 Apr 1786	Urbani
If God is for us	<i>Messiah</i>	12 May 1786	Urbani
Song from the Morning Hymn	Pasquali	23 Jun 1786	Schaw
Could you gain	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	30 Jun 1786	R. Masterton

The inventory of songs contained in the Society's Indexes shows several hundred Italian items, singly or in volumes of collections, and very few Scottish or English songs. The performances listed above do not make a significant enough sample for conclusions to be drawn solely on the contents of the table. They do, however, tend to confirm what has already been observed in the instrumental field, i.e. a great preponderance of Italian songs and vocal works by Handel. Of forty one songs listed above, seventeen are his, and *Father of Heaven* was the song most often repeated. The singers employed to appear in the concerts having been for the most part Italian, it was to be expected that their repertoire would be the same, although they also learned the songs of Scotland.¹¹⁴ The songs which they brought with them and those from Italian operas which appear above suited the taste of the time. They, and the Handel repertoire, attracted the audiences.

There is one series of concerts, from 14 April to 12 May 1780, which, contrary to the usual custom, does give the titles of songs in the plans:

- 14 April *Pria la vittima* (with Horns)
 Ombra cara (both sung by Signora Corri)
- 21 April *L'onda dal mar* with Horns (Signora Corri)
 Ombra cara (Signor Corri)
 Scots song (singer unnamed)
- 28 April Scots song (Mrs. Puppo)

¹¹⁴ See George Thomson's comments on Tenducci's Scots song repertoire in Chapter 5. Claire Nelson's forthcoming D. Mus. thesis (Royal College of Music, London), 'The Influence of Scottish Music in London in the Eighteenth Century with specific reference to the solo violin repertoire' will enlarge understanding of the position which was held by Scots song and the part it played in many instrumental works of the time. Her article in *Early Music*, XXVIII/4, 2000, pp. 597-618, 'Tea-table Miscellanies: The Development of Scotland's Song Culture, 1720-1800', analyses changes in performance and in attitudes to the Scots song through the century. Her description of differing accompaniments and the comments of writers of the time exposes tensions between simple and decorated versions which parallel the 'old' versus 'new' discussion of the Musical Society repertoire.

	Cantata of Pergolesi - Nel chiuso centro (Signora Corri) Ombra cara (Signor Corri)
5 May	Father of Heaven (Signor Corri) Cantata - Nel chiuso centro (Signora Corri) Scots song (singer unnamed) Duetto Quel volto amabile (Signor & Signora Corri)
12 May	Dov'unque il guardo (Signor Corri) Nel chiuso centro (Signora Corri) - the Recit. and 1st Aria only Voi dolce aurette (Signora Corri)

The above are the only recorded performances of the Pergolesi cantata in the years covered by the plan books, of the duet *Quel volto amabile*, of *Voi dolce aurette*, and of *Ombra cara*. The other songs appear in other years at least once. It may be postulated from this rare example of identified songs that there was a fashion for certain pieces for a short time, hence the repetition of the cantata and *Ombra cara*, and that Scots songs were a relatively common feature of the programmes.¹¹⁵ The five plans from the above concert dates are written in the plan book in the same hand, and so it may also be possible to say that the amount of detail given in the plan book depended on the person in charge of at least the recording of the items, if not also the choosing. If normal procedure was to let the singer(s) choose items which were only named at the concert itself, then to have them named in advance was likely to be a troublesome chore, one which most of those concerned in the planning of the concerts would have avoided as being time-consuming and unnecessary.

Information on songs for the concerts in the years outside the scope of the plan books has been discussed in the section on copying music. The items in Appendix J reinforce the importance of the oratorio to the Society, and indicate that song was always vital, especially Italian song. There were very few purchases of Italian song, although the list of vocal items in the Index of songs (1765) contains approximately 400 items. It is not clear how the Society came to have so many. Singers from Italy would have brought copies of the songs which had been successful with other audiences, so the need to copy them for the Edinburgh musicians is obvious. What the Society bought were editions of Scots songs and collections of Handel's songs from the oratorios, along with Marcello's *Psalms*. The Society bought at least nine books of Scots songs from 1734 onwards, and at least

¹¹⁵ See the comments in Chapter 5 on Tenducci's singing of Scots songs.

ten Handel volumes from 1749 onwards.¹¹⁶ These do not expand the known repertoire, however, and can only support what is already known regarding the Society's love of Handel and its pride in its national expression in song.

As far as may be judged from the plan books and the surveys of music bought and copied, the concerts kept to a pattern established early in the life of the Society. The three Acts, each including songs and instrumental works, provided the entertainment sought by the audiences and fulfilled the intentions of the members, with what appears to have been a successful mixture of the older music to which many members were devoted and the introduction of contemporary composers. The presence of songs in every known programme points to the importance of singers and song both as a facet of musical experience and as an attraction for the audience. The efforts of the Society not to be without a singer are discussed in Chapters 5 and 7.

By the time of the programmes in the surviving plan books, the Society had already been running its concerts for forty years, and the routine of its administration is apparent from the discussion above. The only major adjustment in planning the content of the concerts took place from 1778, when it may be seen from the plan books that there were many more items decided by the leader or soloist than had been the custom before, as discussed in the section on repertoire above. These, listed as 'ad libitum' or 'solo concerto' with the name of the musician who was to play, were more numerous in the plans at the time which coincided with the bankruptcy of the then Treasurer. The member of the governing board who was responsible for the planning of the music was not overseeing this part of his duties as he had done in the past. From then on, with his responsibilities being shared among the other Directors, control was not as strict. The musicians took the opportunity to perform more as individual artists, and the balance between the amateurs and professionals tilted even more towards the professionals (see the reference to copying for Stabilini above).¹¹⁷ The appearance of 'old' music throughout the concerts probably shows the works where gentlemen members still played, as the degree of difficulty was less than with newer works. Increasing reliance on the Masters for the solo pieces which began to feature more in the programmes, and their preference for newer music which could demonstrate their

¹¹⁶ These are listed in Appendix G.

¹¹⁷ In the plan books, for example, from 12 February to 9 April 1779, every concert had an 'ad libitum' by Puppo, the leader.

virtuosity, contributed to the decline in the performance standards of the orchestra remarked on in Chapter 7.¹¹⁸ The gentlemen players who still wished to participate must have felt less welcome, or perhaps less competent to play the music. The Society concerts, certainly by the 1780s, had become commercial presentations which were influenced much more by the willingness of their audience to listen to a known artist than to participate themselves.

¹¹⁸ Burchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.

CHAPTER FIVE

MUSICIANS EMPLOYED BY THE SOCIETY

When the Society first engaged local musicians to join in the orchestra on Friday evenings, there were three names on the list of the accounts in March 1727: William McGibbon, Adam Craig and Alexander Stewart.¹ They were paid 3 guineas each, and this was 'for performing last winter session, by order of the Directors'. It is clear from their engaging the services of professionals from the early days, that the Society felt that it was important to mix professional players with the gentlemen who played every week, in order to improve the general standard of their concerts. The encouragement offered to those professionals to take on pupils in the city as a supplement to their income from the Society meant that the city was presented as a profitable place for the teacher, with many people wishing to take lessons from the experts.² The constitution of the Society was in part to obtain the funds to pay them.

By 9 October 1730, there were five paid players, the three already mentioned with William McPherson and Peter Ireland.³ They were paid at differing rates - the newcomers received 3 gns., Stewart was given £5, and McGibbon and Craig £10 each, an increase on the payments from 1727. The payments were made because:

the Governor and Directors considering that the Masters who assist in our Concerts are not yet sufficiently gratified for the service of this present year, do therefore hereby direct the Treasurer to pay [the above sums].⁴

At this point a yearly allowance was proposed for the first time, since the Society did not lack money, and:

considering that the said Masters are in a great measure deprived by the frequency of our concerts of reaping any benefit from concerts of their own as formerly.⁵

¹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 6.

² EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 107, letter from the Treasurer assuring an agent that a recommended musician will have many opportunities to teach if he comes to Edinburgh (dated 19 July 1759). There are many other similar letters in the Minutes.

³ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

In August 1731, John McPherson was appointed after his father William's death at the same salary, and Stewart was awarded £5 extra per year to lay out the music and tune the 'fiddles'.⁶

This was the start of the long and increasingly complex relationship between the Society and its paid employees, and the above comment from the Minutes contains the germ of one of the most powerful elements in that relationship - the consciousness of the position occupied by the Society in relation to the musicians' lives in the city. It will be seen from further references throughout the Minutes that the Directors were always willing to consider the various pleas put forward by their employees for freedom to play elsewhere, for benefits and even for help in time of illness or family crisis. This along with the constant need to provide good Masters to lead the orchestra forms the largest part of the information and correspondence minuted through the years, especially in the period 1760-90. After the building of St. Cecilia's Hall, the Society was able and willing to present concerts on a larger scale, which meant having access to good soloists who would attract appreciative audiences. This chapter will consider the careers of the principal professional musicians employed by the Musical Society.⁷

THE LEADERS OF THE ORCHESTRA.

The musicians who appear in the accounts and Minute books fall into one of two categories. There are those who were either native to Edinburgh or long-term residents, and who made a living doing whatever was available to them, including playing for the concerts of the Society. Secondly, there are those who were asked to come to the city on a contract to fill a specific post with the Society, such as leader of the orchestra, singer or harpsichord player. The first leader was the local musician William McGibbon, and his position was indicated by a higher salary than that of the other Edinburgh players. In 1739, he was paid £25,⁸ and continued at this sum until his death in 1756. He was not, however, paid as much as Francesco Barsanti, the oboist, flautist and composer who came to Edinburgh in 1735.⁹ Barsanti

⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

⁷ Appendix D lists musicians employed by the Society, with their dates of employment.

⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 71.

⁹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, p. 54. There is no record of the date when Barsanti was employed, but a minute dated 24 June 1736 recognised that there was a contract between

benefited from the custom of paying foreign musicians more, and in the accounts for 1739 his salary for the year was £50. Farmer names him as one of the *maestri di cappella*, or leaders, on the grounds that these were not always violinists.¹⁰ Certainly in the early years of the concerts it is clear that the 'leading fiddle' was appointed from week to week,¹¹ but there is no reference in the minutes to support Farmer's theory that the charge of the musicians was given to anyone other than a violinist.

Nicolo Pasquali came from London via Dublin¹² to Edinburgh and was on 14 Mar 1753 engaged for 1 year to the Society at £55 per year.¹³ He was also paid by the Society to teach one of their singers, Miss Rodburn, which made a noticeable difference to his earnings. In June 1754 he received his salary of £55 and £17-6-6 for teaching Miss Rodburn.¹⁴ He continued to lead the players and teach until his sudden death in 1757. He wrote a book on figured bass which became a standard textbook,¹⁵ and composed in several genres. The Society purchased his overtures,¹⁶ and also owned a copy of his cantata *Tweedside*, listed in the Index of 1782. Johnson comments that a brilliant career was cut off by his early death.¹⁷ The Treasurer, in a letter dated 10 November 1757 concerning the offer of employment to Signora Mazzanti,¹⁸ pointed out that Pasquali had made 'about £300 a year', meaning that he had taken advantage of the chance which his work with the concerts gave him to obtain pupils in the city.

The Society was quick to replace him with Martino Olivieri, and in a letter to a Lady Torphichen, who had contacted the Society because of information she had received regarding his playing skill, offered him the leadership of the concert, work in the oratorios, a salary of £50 (slightly less than that of Pasquali), and a benefit, recommending also the chances of other earnings:

him and the Society, and his name appeared for the first time in the accounts for 1736 as receiving one years's salary up to May 1736.

¹⁰ Farmer, *History*, p. 310.

¹¹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 36.

¹² Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹³ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 54.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁵ N. Pasquali, *Thoroughbass made easy*, 1752.

¹⁶ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 56.

¹⁷ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 87.

... he [Pasquali] had a Benefit Concert which by his obliging behaviour turn'd out generally from twenty to thirty pounds and upwards, with this and what he had by teaching he made a very handsome leaving [living], for he had as many Schoalars at a guinea and a half a month as he could attend, and a guinea of entry.¹⁹

A further letter suggested Olivieri should try to be in Edinburgh for the St. Cecilia's concert on 3 December 1757.²⁰ The Directors were immediately delighted with his performance. A letter dated 12 January 1758 and copied in the minutes stated:

We have got a very great performer on the violin Signor Olivieri, he far excells Passerini and Pasquali, we have now a very fine concert ²¹

In 1761, his salary was increased to £120, but in November of that year the Treasurer wrote to Ferdinand Arrigoni in Dublin, asking him to take the post of leader.²² There is no record of why Olivieri was no longer in this position. Arrigoni held out for some months for a salary larger than was offered (£60 per year), and had indeed been approached first in June 1761, but had delayed his reply.²³ In the accounts for 1763, he was paid for eight months (up to 1 June),²⁴ and must therefore have arrived in Edinburgh the previous October. In August 1763, a meeting of the Directors agreed to take Olivieri back at a salary of forty guineas a year,²⁵ and the Society paid both men in the accounts for 1764.²⁶ Arrigoni's name appeared above Olivieri's in the list and at a higher salary, so it might be supposed that he was regarded as the leader. The custom in the setting out of the accounts was to list the principal singer (or couple in cases such as the Passerinis and the Dorias), followed by the masters, with the leader first of these. Olivieri had sought parity with Arrigoni in January of 1764, but despite the esteem in which he was held, the Society could not afford to pay him the increase until after the next quarter day, i.e. three months hence. The contract was for one year, and he stayed until 1765, when the question of his continuing was raised in January.²⁷ His contract was to finish in February, and the Directors were conscious that they should make a decision

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 85.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 86.

²¹ Ibid., p. 91. The career of Giuseppe Passerini with the Society is discussed with that of his wife in the section below on singers.

²² Ibid., p. 127.

²³ Ibid., p. 118.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 141.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 144.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 149.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 158.

quickly, but delayed in order to find out whether Arrigoni would be available. The Treasurer was asked to ascertain the position, but there is no record of what he found. The accounts for 1766, however, do not contain Olivieri's name, while Arrigoni was paid his full salary of seventy guineas. Farmer²⁸ says that Olivieri went to Aberdeen in 1768 to be leader of the players in the Musical Society there, and it is possible that the high opinion expressed by the Edinburgh Directors of his abilities and personal qualities enabled him to live in Edinburgh until then, and work as a musician without having a position in the Society concerts.

Arrigoni continued with the Society until 1770, but a letter from the Treasurer to Robert Bremner in London in December expressed dissatisfaction at his performance.

... in short Arrigoni is quite fal'n off and we must have a first Fiddle, also a good Violincello as Thomson would play the Double Bass and can do it very well. If you have in your eye any good master that would answer us for a leader or Violincello, be so good as write one and learn something of their terms.²⁹

Bremner's response was to suggest the Society should make an offer to Ignaz Franzell, a violinist from Mannheim.³⁰ The Directors agreed that, subject to more information about him from J.C. Bach in London, Franzell should be engaged. His coming from Mannheim was a positive recommendation, since the Earl of Kellie (then Deputy Governor of the Society) had spent time there. A letter was sent to Mannheim offering a salary of £100 and £20 travelling expenses, and emphasising that, as he could play the harpsichord and cello as well as the violin, he would not lack pupils, 'as music is in very great repute in this place.'³¹ This letter was dated 4 March 1771, and there is no record of a reply from Franzell. Arrigoni was paid by the Society until June 1771, so the quest for a replacement became urgent after that date.

The Society had been in contact some time before this with Thomas Pinto in London, as is evidenced by his letter to Lord Kellie in June 1771.³²

Mr. Addison [a Musical Society employee who was in London] has informed me that the Gentlemen of the Concert

²⁸ Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

²⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 36.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

³¹ Ibid., p. 38.

³² Ibid., p. 45.

at Edinburgh were in want of a leader and had directions to ask my conditions on this occasion; in obedience to this application I desired Mr. Addison to favour me with transmitting the following terms, viz: £150 salary and two benefit concerts. It has since been insinuated to me that the terms are thought too high. I thought them under the circumstances I then was of leaving Mrs. Pinto in town and quitting my scholars here as moderate as I ever'd possibly make; but since this there is a probability of Mrs. Pinto being engaged at the theatre at Edinburgh and shou'd that happen I shou'd be happy to attend the Society on such terms as your Lordship and they shall think I consistently ought. Your Lordship will permitt me to say every exertion of my little abilitys if I am honor'd with the Society's commands to attend them shall never be wanting.

The salary proposed above was far in excess of any paid by the Society to an instrumentalist, and it is no surprise that the actual offer to Pinto was of £100 per year and one benefit.³³ The Directors did suggest that he might be able to lead the theatre orchestra as well, and added the now customary advice about teaching.³⁴ It was later noted that 'Mr. Pinto arrived the 27th November 1771, his salary commences at this date 100£ pr. Annum.'³⁵ In the time since Arrigoni's departure in June, the band had been led by John Smeiton, one of the local players and a member of the concert orchestra from 1756-1778. He was given a 'present of ten guineas ...for his trouble', a gift minuted in April 1772.³⁶

Pinto and his wife were in Edinburgh for only a year when he went to Dublin, leaving his wife to explain that he would not be back until the following summer, i.e. he would be absent from October 1773 to June 1774. This hit the Society concerts hard, as their season started in November. The Treasurer wrote to Pinto asking him for a decision on his date of return, and warned him that he would be replaced if he was away after mid-December.³⁷ On the same date (4 October 1773), the Treasurer wrote to William Napier in London asking him to pursue enquiries about engaging Vachon, a violinist in Paris.³⁸ Nothing came of this, however, nor did Pinto return from Dublin, and so the Edinburgh orchestra was without a leader for a year. The Directors pleaded several times with Pinto, saying

³³ Ibid., p. 60. Luciani the singer at this time was paid £250 per year, and the Society could not afford to pay what Pinto asked.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 51.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 59.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 75.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 76. William Napier was probably the publisher and musician mentioned by McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, pp. 49, 194.

they had 'all the tenderness in the world to Mr. Pinto',³⁹ but it had no effect. Mrs. Pinto was paid all the salary due to him up to the time of his departure, and the Society expressed the wish that he should lead the concerts the next summer.⁴⁰

This episode is an example of what Burchell sees as the weakened grip of the Directors on the professional musicians, caused by the change of Treasurer after the death of William Douglas in 1771.⁴¹ This does not take into account the growing strength of the musicians themselves, who were able to find well paid work in the provinces and no longer relied so heavily on London alone. Those with a good reputation, such as Pinto had (or the Edinburgh Society would not have been so eager to retain him), could auction themselves to the highest bidder, and although there is no indication of what Pinto was paid on that occasion in Dublin, it is unlikely that he would have stayed there for a year had the salary not been better than what he was paid in Edinburgh.⁴²

In May 1774, Pinto assured the Society Treasurer that he would be in Edinburgh 'some time this summer tho it is not in my power to fix the precise time at present.'⁴³ In his undated reply, the Treasurer asked him to 'come soon, as the Concert wants a leader very much.'⁴⁴ The next exchange took place in September, when the Treasurer sent a contract to Pinto in the hope that he might sign it and return to play for the Society.⁴⁵ In the accompanying letter he asked that Pinto reply 'in two posts at farthest', a condition which seems at odds with the many efforts made over the previous year to obtain even an answer to their other letters. The sending of a contract with instructions on how to sign and return it argues great awareness of the business position of the Society, which is undermined by the knowledge of the succession of requests to Pinto which were ignored by him. The last sentence of the September letter perhaps shows what was uppermost in the mind of the Directors:

³⁹ Ibid., p. 78.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 79.

⁴¹ Burchell, 'Polite or Commercial Concerts?', p. 35.

⁴² He was paid £113-15-0 for the year 1776, as first violin in the Rotunda orchestra in Dublin. (B. Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth Century Dublin*, Dublin, 1992, p. 192.)

⁴³ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 86

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 90.

...our waiting for you for so long evinces sufficiently our desire to have you settle with us and I am still hopeful that you will close [with our offer].⁴⁶

There is no record of a reply from Pinto, but a Directors' meeting in the following November made several resolutions concerning the behaviour of players with regard to leave of absence, using Pinto, Schetky and the Corris as examples of abuse of the practice.⁴⁷ In December the Treasurer was empowered by the Directors to seek a replacement for Pinto which he did, offering Giuseppe Puppo a salary of £110 until the following September, i.e. for nine months, an increase on what was paid to Pinto.⁴⁸ In the same minute, it was noted that Pinto had in fact returned to Edinburgh (in the interval between 15 and 28 December), and the Society decided to engage him at £100 as well. In the accounts for June 1775, therefore, Pinto was paid his salary and £20 travelling expenses from Dublin (£59-8-10), and Puppo was paid £50 for the six months which he had spent with the concerts.⁴⁹ Pinto's name appeared first in the accounts, so it would seem that Puppo took second place at the time.

The tribulations caused by Pinto were not ended; in March 1775, he asked for and obtained leave to fetch his wife and family from Dublin – expressed in the minute as 'reasonable leave of absence'⁵⁰ and interpreted by the Treasurer as one month – but by the end of June he had not returned.⁵¹ The Treasurer wrote to him again:

... You will remember that one of the terms which I insisted upon before I engaged with you in last December was that you should not go out of Scotland upon any account. In order however to encourage you to settle with us I gave you a month's leave of absence to go and bring over your family from Dublin. It is now three months since you went away and you have not thought proper to make the smallest apology for so long an absence. I am therefore to inform you that unless you return here again in the course of this month, I shall consider all engagements with you to be at an end.⁵²

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 90.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 95.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 98.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 102.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 99.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 100.

⁵² Ibid., p. 101.

This was the end of the Society's connection with Pinto. He stayed in Dublin and led the band in a theatre there for several years.

Giuseppe Puppo came to Edinburgh on the terms described above, and he stayed on after the final departure of Pinto, taking the job of leader. He was employed at one hundred pounds a year in 1776 and 1777.⁵³ In December 1777, the Treasurer wrote asking his intentions for the next year, as Puppo had indicated that he might return to Italy because he was finding the climate in Scotland bad for his health.⁵⁴ There is no record of any reply from Puppo, but he left Edinburgh at some time between then and November 1778. The Treasurer wrote to him then, sending the letter to Bath and requesting his return.⁵⁵ The letter refers to a previous summons to attend the concerts, and promises help with travelling expenses if Puppo will arrive in Edinburgh by 27 November. A letter to Robert Bremner in London asking for his assistance was sent at the same time:

I am again to trouble you about Puppo...to send him money to Bath would be to encourage his stay there. I think ten pounds should be sufficient to bring him from London, but I would not scruple £12, only be sure he is to sett off when you give him the money.⁵⁶

If Puppo had indeed taken over the leadership from Pinto, this would explain the Society's anxiety to have him back in the city. He returned and was employed until May 1782, but in those three years there are many references in the accounts to payments on his behalf, that is of debts, mention of which first came in a letter to John Welsh from the Directors regarding Welsh's own bankruptcy:

...we shall be obliged to you to send us the scheme of Puppo's debts, which you showed to us in August last...We hope our engagement for a composition with his creditors is now done away.⁵⁷

Puppo was remembered by George Thomson as 'a most capital artist ...who charmed all hearers'.⁵⁸

The next and last leader of the Society's orchestra was Girolamo Stabilini, who came from Italy in 1784. In the intervening period, the musicians were led by

⁵³ Ibid., p. 111, p. 125.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 123.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 140.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 149.

⁵⁸ Chambers, *Traditions*, p. 253.

Joseph Reinagle, who was awarded the sum of twenty pounds in May 1784, 'for leading the Band since Mr. Puppo went away'.⁵⁹ Travelling expenses of fifty pounds for Stabilini's journey were noted on the same page of the accounts, immediately before the Reinagle entry. The gap between foreign leaders had also been partly filled in the previous summer by a visit from the violinist Johann Peter Salomon, who played at five concerts in July and August 1783. His name was written in the plan of the concerts on 4, 11 and 25 July, and 1 and 8 August, each time with 'solo' or 'quartetto' as the only indication of the work played. On the last three occasions he played in two items, a solo concerto and a quartet. He later became famous in London as a concert impresario as well as for his playing.⁶⁰ This was his only recorded time with the Society, but a visit by a soloist who was at the time making his name in London was an important contribution to the Edinburgh concerts, keeping up the Society's desire for music of a high standard.⁶¹

Stabilini was employed in the Society's concerts from his arrival until they ceased, at a salary of one hundred pounds per year. He was unlike his predecessors in that he did not disappear to fulfil other engagements, but seems to have been content to stay in the city. Johnson comments on his brilliance as a performer and his comparative youth when he first came to Scotland – he was twenty one.⁶² The Society plans for the concerts at the beginning of his career show that he played his own works many times,⁶³ but most have not survived. Johnson is enthusiastic about Stabilini's talent, as judged by the arrangements of the concertos which have survived, in contrast to the opinion of George Thomson who thought 'he had a good round tone, though, to my apprehension, he did not exceed mediocrity as a performer.'⁶⁴

Where Stabilini was perhaps mediocre was in his leading of the orchestra, and his careless conduct of the concerts is discussed in Chapter 7. Thomson characterised him with a story of his liking for the supper at a private concert rather

⁵⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 38.

⁶⁰ McVeigh, *op. cit.*, esp. chs. 11 and 12.

⁶¹ See Chapter 4, Special Concerts, for similar events. Salomon's visit is not included there because there was nothing to single out the plans for when he appeared.

⁶² Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁶³ His name is entered more than 40 times for a concerto or an 'ad libitum' item, between 11 May 1784 and 11 August 1786 (the last plan).

⁶⁴ Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

than the music, especially if the music was Corelli's.⁶⁵ This scorn of one of the composers most revered during the whole history of the Society would not have made him popular with the older members.

The general standard of performance by 1791 had dropped enough for the Directors to write the note to Stabilini and the other Masters which is quoted on page 90 above. Stabilini was, however, able to keep his place with the Society until the final salary payments were made in October 1797. The end of his employment is described in Chapter 7.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ORCHESTRA.

No local player led the Society's orchestra after William McGibbon, unless in an interval when the post was temporarily vacant, but some of them stayed with the Society for many years, for example John McPherson. He was still being paid for playing in 1766 at a yearly salary of £20, after his start in 1731 at sums of £2 and 3gns. His first fixed salary was £10 in 1732-33. His loyalty and continued service were recognised by the Society in a minute of 25 November 1774, which instructed that he was one of only seven employees of the Society who were entitled to ask for the use of St. Cecilia's Hall for a benefit concert once a year.⁶⁶ The question of letting the Hall be used for benefits was a sore one, as requests were often made even by artists not employed by the Society, and the Directors were very wary of the idea by this time. It also of course meant that the Hall was being occupied with no financial gain for the Society, so their listing of McPherson as one who might have the privilege was significant.

Alexander Stewart, also mentioned above, was one of the original three paid musicians, and was first entered in the accounts in March 1727. In 1764, he was paid for a year's work, but he was absent from the next two years' lists. In June 1766, however, an undated minute recorded that he sent the Directors a note of petition, replying to his being struck off the list of performers. He claims that his non-attendance was due only to age, infirmity and his sight failing him. The

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 255. Stabilini is said to have joked:

'A piece of turkey for a hungry belly, Is much superior to Corelli!'

⁶⁶ EMS Minutes. vol. III, p. 95. The others were: Mr. and Mrs Corri, Mr. Pinto, the second fiddle (possibly John Smeiton), Mr. Schetky and the harpsichord player (possibly Stephen Clark).

Directors conceded that he had belonged to the band from the beginning in Mary's Chapel, had always been obliging and was now reduced to poverty. They therefore awarded him £12 a year, to be paid along with the other Masters.⁶⁷ This was done in 1767, and he received £6 the following year. (It is likely that it was a different Alexander Stewart who was paid £5 in 1776, and in June of that year fined half a guinea for going one evening to Corri's Garden instead of attending the Concert, along with Joseph Reinagle jun., Alexander Napier and George Mushet.⁶⁸) Stewart was paid on different occasions for supplying musical equipment such as strings or bows to the Society.⁶⁹

Joseph Reinagle senior was employed by the Society for some years. He was of Austrian extraction, and according to Harris⁷⁰ had come to England in 1715. He had a Scottish wife and lived in Portsmouth for some years before coming to Edinburgh. He was a trumpeter, and in 1762 was appointed as a King's Trumpeter to the Justiciary and to the Lyon Court.⁷¹ This meant that he had to attend whenever the sessions of court commenced, and to go on the circuits in spring and autumn, when the judges left Edinburgh to preside over courts in other parts of Scotland. Because of these duties he was unable to attend every concert of the Society, and was paid less than a full salary accordingly. In 1760 and 1761 he was paid £9-10-0. In April 1762, the Directors were asked to consider allowing him credit, for him to buy materials to make articles to sell, repaying the credit with his earnings. They agreed, as he was useful to the Concert.⁷² From that time he received varying sums per year (except for 1763 when he was not paid anything), until 1775, at which point he was paid £5-4-4d, 'in full being discharged as superannuated.'⁷³ Reinagle was a music teacher in the city, and a prominent member of the masonic lodge Holyrood House (St. Luke's), no.44.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Ibid., vol. II, p. 172.

⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. III, p. 104.

⁶⁹ Ibid., for example vol. I, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Harris, *St. Cecilia's Hall*, p. 76.

⁷¹ J. Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Musicians*, 2 vols., London, 1827, entry for Reinagle. There is no evidence of what he played for the Society concerts, but it is likely that since the need for a trumpeter was not constant, he played more than one instrument.

⁷² EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 131. The Society's agreement with him is indicative of its quasi-charitable status towards its employees, shown in other cases by support during illness (see p. 168, help given to Gilson).

⁷³ Ibid., vol. III, p. 102.

⁷⁴ See Chapter 6.

Reinagle's son Joseph junior was a string player who first appeared in the Society accounts in 1773, when he was paid £14-8-0. He and his brother Alexander both spent some years as musicians in Edinburgh, Joseph in the Society's orchestra, and Alexander as a harpsichordist who was never on the Society's list of paid employees, but who regularly performed solo concertos in the years 1780-84.⁷⁵ Joseph had lessons from his father and from his brother-in-law Johann Schetky, who married Maria Reinagle in 1774. Both brothers left Edinburgh in 1784; Joseph went first to Dublin, then to enjoy a good career in London and Oxford, and Alexander crossed to the United States.⁷⁶

Johann Schetky was a cellist who came to London from Darmstadt, where he had been brought up, in 1772. His father was secretary to the ruler of the state of Hesse-Darmstadt and his mother was a singer. He spent some time in his teens at Mannheim, where it is possible that he met the Earl of Kellie, and also travelled in Italy and France.⁷⁷ After the death of his father he came to London looking for a post, and a letter to the Society from Robert Bremner of 11 February 1772 proposed that he be given employment by the Society, in reply to the request referred to on p. 146, sent to Bremner by William Douglas in December 1770 asking for a replacement for Arrigoni. The first violinist was to be Thomas Pinto, but no cellist was found until Bremner's encounter with Schetky, who had arrived in London at a time when there were many good cellists in the city already.⁷⁸ On the advice of Carl Friedrich Abel, the London concert organiser and composer, Bremner offered Schetky 50 gns. a year and one benefit, but then reported Schetky's request for travelling expenses not only for himself but also for his brother, and for a German flautist. The whole would amount to 15 gns., and Bremner clearly felt that some authorisation was needed to proceed, since he had offered to pay their charges to travel by sea, and they had refused this. The meeting of the Directors decided to engage Schetky providing that he was recommended by Abel, but a letter of 11 February (the same day as Bremner's) indicates an intervention by the Earl of Kellie. The latter was 'so much convinced that Mr. Abel would not recommend a bad

⁷⁵ See the EMS plan books for these years.

⁷⁶ A.M.Krauss, 'Alexander Reinagle', *American Music*, University of Illinois, Winter 1986.

⁷⁷ W.O. Greenaway, 'The Talents of John Schetky,' *The Scots Magazine*, December 1978, p. 290.

⁷⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 56.

performer to the Society his Lordship is at the head of⁷⁹ that Bremner was asked to proceed with the agreement as soon as possible.

The next letter from Bremner enclosed a card from Abel giving his approval to Schetky's appointment, and details the expenses incurred in enabling the men to travel.

Mr. Schetky and his brother set off this morning in the Newcastle fly- I shall say nothing at present of the trouble I have had in the matter, suffice it that I have advanced twenty two guineas to get them off viz:

six guineas to pay their quarters	£6-6-0
places in the Fly	£6-17-0
cash for further travelling charges	<u>£9-19-0</u>
[total]	£23-2-0 ⁸⁰

This letter was not dated by Bremner, but was received by the Society on 28 February 1772. There is a note below the copy in the Minute Book stating that Schetky arrived in Edinburgh on the same day, and that his salary commenced from that date. It appears from Bremner's information that Schetky's brother had been ill on the journey to England, and that they therefore had little money. Bremner suggested that the benefit promised should be arranged for as soon as possible.

Schetky settled down in Edinburgh and was able to use his continental training to teach and to lead the cellos in the Society concerts. He also composed and published (his publisher was Bremner in London), and the Society played his music.⁸¹ His marriage to Maria Reinagle meant that he stayed longer in Edinburgh than otherwise might have been expected for a man of his undoubted talent. He never left, having at first a large family to bring up, and then perhaps being too old to make a fresh start. His ambition when he was new in the city, however, knew no bounds, as his negotiations with the Society show.

In the accounts dated June 1773, he was paid £73-4-0, but in December there is a minute of a letter from him to the Directors asking for several personal

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

⁸¹ Entry in 1773 accounts 'To Mr. Schetky for Six Setts of his Trios £3-3-0' Minutes, vol. III, p. 81.

advantages.⁸² He requested a salary of £100 a year for life, leave to go to London for a month or more every year, and a firm appointment to direct the performers of the Society and compose music. The reply from the Treasurer, John Welsh, indicated how the Society had to respond to the demands of the professionals, with a balance between their desire to retain the services of good players, and a firm resistance to any agreement which might endanger the future health of the Society and the conduct of the Concerts:

Sir, I received your Proposals and have laid them before the Earl of Kellie and the Directors of the Musical Society who desire me to assure you that they are exceedingly sensible of your merit and will be very happy to have you continue with them, and for that purpose nothing shall be wanting on their part in so far as the Constitution of the Society or the extent of their funds will admitt of.

With regard to your Proposals it is proper to inform you that as our Concert is a private one at which many Gentlemen are so good as to assist it has therefore been judged right from the first Institution of it to give the Direction of the Performance to a Governor and seven or eight of the Subscribers which cannot be altered and the nature of the Constitution of the Society likeways prevents them entering into engagements for Life, because the Concert depends upon a number of Members who may perhaps at some time or other chuse to withdraw their subscriptions and dissolve the Society altogether. But I am authorised to say to you that the Gentlemen in the Direction will if agreeable to you Enter into Contract with you for any number of years from three to nine at the present salary of Eighty pounds sterl. per annum which is the utmost the extent of their funds can possibly admitt of and if you are so good as to agree to this a Contract shall be made out immediately and I shall make you a present of Fifty pounds upon signing the Contract.

I shall be glad to have your answer to this in writing and am etc.,.

There is no further correspondence on the subject, but the payments of £80 salary and £50 gift were noted in the accounts for 1774.⁸³

The expansion of employment of foreign professionals brought a higher standard of playing to the Society's orchestra, but also created problems of finance and the need for more difficult negotiations. Schetky's demands were one example

⁸² EMS Minutes, vol. III. p. 83.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 91.

of how a player's attitude to his employer had changed since the Society first brought Masters from far afield.

SINGERS

A great many of the society's paid employees through the years were singers. They were the principal attraction to reassure the members of the continuing quality of the Friday concerts and to bring the public to concerts open to them, and it is appropriate to consider the place which they occupied in the life of the Society.

In July 1729 the accounts note payment of 1 gn. to a Mr. Morphie 'for singing'.⁸⁴ In 1732-34, there are references to the singer Benedetto appearing for the Society and being paid a yearly salary of £105.⁸⁵ This was the high castrato Benedetto Baldassare, who sang in London, Rome and Dublin at the height of his career, in the years 1712-25.⁸⁶ His arrival in Edinburgh was noted on 1st May 1732.⁸⁷ There is no record of his repertoire in Edinburgh, but it can be assumed from the length of his stay that he was well received. He is known to have sung for Handel in London in 1719-20, and created two parts for him.⁸⁸ In the summer of 1734 he asked for six weeks' leave of absence.⁸⁹ He overstayed his leave, and wrote in November to the Directors saying that he would not return to Edinburgh in the winter, but asking for work from the Society after that time. The Directors refused.⁹⁰

In the years 1735-39 the Society contributed to the training of a Miss Udall as a singer for the concerts, an arrangement which was not always easy. She was taught first by William McGibbon and then by Francis Barsanti, both

⁸⁴ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 16.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

⁸⁶ See the appendix on musicians in B. Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1760*, Dublin, 1988, and the entry by Winton Dean in *New Grove*, 1980, vol. 2, pp. 63-64.

⁸⁷ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 33.

⁸⁸ The two roles which Handel wrote for him were Fraarte in *Radamisto* and Timante in *Floridante* (*New Grove* as above). It is likely that Handel's music formed the basis of Baldassare's repertoire in Edinburgh.

⁸⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 42.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

instrumentalists and respected musicians.⁹¹ In 1738 Mr. Udall, her father and agent, had his charges disputed,⁹² and Miss Udall was not employed after June 1739.⁹³ The Directors then agreed to make savings on the salaries of the musicians in order to be able to afford a singer,⁹⁴ indicating the importance they attached to the post. A Mr. Monteir was paid 5 gns. for some concerts, dates unknown, in the 1737 accounts,⁹⁵ and he was also employed in the 1740s on three occasions.⁹⁶

The best-known singer used by the Society at this time was Christina Maria Avolio, who came to take over from Miss Udall in 1739. She was with the Society until July 1741, when she and Barsanti applied for leave of absence for two months. This was granted on pain of loss of salary if they were away longer.⁹⁷ Barsanti returned, but Signora Avolio did not. In the accounts for 1742, her debts to a Mr. Wardine and Mr. Reid were paid, leaving £8 of her salary for the year past to be paid to her. According to Winton Dean,⁹⁸ she went to Dublin with Handel in November 1741 and stayed there for some months, performing in *Acis and Galatea*. She sang in London in 1743, in another Handel work, *Athalia*, and never returned to Edinburgh. Philip Palma was engaged in November 1741 to sing until the following August,⁹⁹ after which he probably wished to try his luck in London. A memo of 23 March 1743 states that the meeting 'approved of the Letter sent by the Treasurer to Mr. Oswald anent making an agreement with Signor Palma'.¹⁰⁰ It is likely that Mr. Monteir sang for the 1742-43 season, as in the 1743 accounts he was paid 25 gns., a sum comparable to McGibbon's salary of £25 as principal violin.¹⁰¹

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁹² Ibid., p. 59.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 68

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 55

⁹⁶ See the Society accounts for 1743, 1745 and 1749.

⁹⁷ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 90.

⁹⁸ Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, Oxford, 1959, p. 651.

⁹⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 91. Little is known of Palma, except that he was a musician whose songs the Society bought. His publications as listed in the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Music* include a song possibly published in Edinburgh in 1740 titled 'Simplicetta Tortorella', *Six Italian Songs with their accompaniments* (London, ?1745) and two similar volumes of six songs each (op. 3 – 1749, op. 4 – 1752). The Musical Society papers do not show which works were bought, but purchases were made in 1752, 1754 and 1758 (see Appendix G.2).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 96. See Chapter 4, footnote 37 re James Oswald.

¹⁰¹ EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 99.

There is no record of a singer for the 1743-44 financial year, but in August 1744, Philip Rochetti started a stay of nine years with the Society. He continued the pattern, begun by Baldassare and Avolio, of the Society's engaging singers who had sung with Handel. Rochetti had in fact sung the role of Acis in its first public performance in 1731, an occasion which was a benefit concert for himself. He also sang Handel roles later in the decade,¹⁰² and it is possible that his coming to Edinburgh greatly increased the part which the music of Handel played in the Society's concerts. Rochetti would have been appreciated as a direct line to the composer whose music was so favoured. He was principal singer until the Society decided to offer a contract to Giuseppe and Cristina Passerini in 1749. They did not arrive in Edinburgh until early 1751, so Rochetti stayed on, but the Society had to consider its finances carefully because funds were not sufficient to pay salaries for both him and the Passerinis. The minute of 14 November 1750 illustrates both the concerns and the ambitions of the members of the Society:

And it was represented to the meeting that as the time of Signor Passerini's coming here was very uncertain, It had been thought necessary to continue Mr. Rochetti till Signor Passerini should come, That as the funds of the Society were not sufficient to pay both their salaries, The Directors, in order to raise a fund for paying Mr. Rochetti, without bringing any additionall Expence on the members, had allowed the General Meeting in November last to admitt twelve members more than their usual number, with intention to let these twelve drop out the first General meeting after Mr. Rochetti's being dismiss, as for several years past there had always been that number of deficientes at every payment; That now, by the care which had been taken for some time past in regulating the concert, the Spirit for Musick and the desire of being a member had risen so high that there was only one vacancy ... And it was further represented that it would contribute very much to the improvement of the concert if an organ were purchased...¹⁰³

The membership of the Society decided to finance the organ by a contribution of an extra half guinea each, and the salary of Rochetti was safe until June 1751,¹⁰⁴ when he was told he was no longer needed and given £25 to 'defray the expence of his journey'. He was still in Edinburgh, however, in June 1752. It was noted that he had for some time had no salary from the Society, and:

¹⁰² Dean, *op. cit.*, p. 651.

¹⁰³ EMS Minutes, vol.II, p. 25. See also the reference to this in Chapter 2 in the discussion on increased membership numbers.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35

that besides his discretion and obliging manner and the merit of being an old servant of the Society, he might still be of use in making the Intertainment [sic] more compleat providing a small sum could be raised to keep him in the place ...¹⁰⁵

After discussion, he was promised money from a levy on the members in November, and in the 1753 accounts he was paid a total of £60, half from the levy and half as a present on his departure from the city in March 1753. The warmth evinced towards him by the Society at the time probably stemmed in no small measure from their appreciation of his behaviour in comparison to that of the Passerinis, which is considered below.

Giuseppe and Cristina Passerini were a husband and wife, the wife a singer and the husband a violinist to whom the Society offered a contract dated 22 April 1749,¹⁰⁶ for three years of employment in Edinburgh. The couple were at that time in Russia, and although there is no record of how the Society heard of them, the trade connections between Scotland and the town of St. Petersburg are apparent in the Minute Book copies of letters written. They were offered 600 roubles per year (£130 sterling) for three years and a travelling allowance of £50. A letter of 28 April 1749 from William Douglas, Treasurer of the Society, to McCulloch and Tod, a firm of Edinburgh merchants, asked them to give credit through their representative in St. Petersburg to the Passerinis for the £50 (with security satisfactory to the agent).¹⁰⁷ The Society was trying to get the musicians to Scotland as quickly as possible, while ensuring that any money paid out would be properly used. Nothing more was done until a letter was sent by William Douglas dated 9 Feb. 1750 to Mr. Thomas Allan, agent in St. Petersburg of McCulloch and Tod, asking him to encourage them to come by sea to Leith (the port of Edinburgh), with £50.

But if he cannot prevail on them to come by sea, he will please only pay them £20 on their setting out from Pettersburg and give them a credit on Hamburg or any other seaport for the remaining £30, payable only on condition they go on board any vessel bound for Scotland.¹⁰⁸

It is clear from the above conditions that the Society was anxious to be prescriptive about the use of its money in dealings with musicians not yet in Edinburgh. The time already lost from the date of the contract meant possible loss

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

of custom for the concerts. It was difficult to know how quickly the Passerinis were travelling, but a letter written by Handel to Telemann from London on 25 December 1750 shows that he had met them earlier in the month in the Hague. (Telemann had introduced Cristina Passerini to Handel and her singing had much impressed him.)

I had just enough time to be able to hear his wife sing...I was soon convinced myself of her rare quality. They are leaving for Scotland to fulfil concert engagements there for a season of 6 months. There she will be able to perfect herself in the English language; after that (as they intend to remain some time in London) I shall not fail to be of service to them in all ways that may depend on me.¹⁰⁹

The couple were aware of the terms of the contract offered by the Society and the length of time they had agreed to for their employment in Edinburgh, because the contract had been sent to them in Russia. This letter referring to a period of only six months in the city suggests more than one conclusion. Either they never had any intention of spending the stipulated 'three years after their arrival in Scotland', or their meeting with Handel, whose influence in London would have been well known to musicians, changed their plans. His obvious admiration for Signora Passerini's voice could have encouraged them to hope that London would offer them more than a provincial capital. Whatever their ideas, the comment in Handel's letter provides a reason for the subsequent behaviour of the couple in Edinburgh, which was the first test of the firmness of the Society's dealings with its most highly-paid artists.

Money was paid to them in the course of 1750 before their arrival, in the form of a draft for £54-16-6 in May 1750.¹¹⁰ In July and November 1750 postage was paid on letters to and from the couple, including one from Hamburg in the course of their journey.¹¹¹ In January 1751, there is in the accounts payment to a coffee house (1/-) for a meeting between Passerini and the Directors, probably on his arrival in the city, and on 1 April one quarter's salary (£32-10-0).¹¹² The salary was always in the name of Signor Passerini, but the amount was for himself and his wife. (The subsequent item in the accounts placed Mr. Rochetti's salary on a lower scale – he was given a total of £56-18-0 for one year to 7 May 1751, and this amount included hire of a sedan chair.) There is also an entry for £20 'in further part of his

¹⁰⁹ Händel-Handbuch, vol. 4, p. 444.

¹¹⁰ EMS Minutes, vol.II, p. 19.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 29.

¹¹² Ibid.

[Passerini's] salary from 1 Jan 1751 per Livingston and Simpson'. It is not stated to whom these names refer, but it was the customary way for the accounts to reflect debts paid to merchants on behalf of employees.

The year 1751 passed without further reference to the couple in the Minutes, but in January 1752 the Directors received a letter from Passerini making several demands. He was asking for salary for them both dated from one year before their arrival, extra travelling charges of £149, a contract of only two years not three, a sum for travelling after the contract ended and leave to go to London once a year because his wife was a Lutheran.¹¹³ He had made the same demands before, according to the minute, but not before signing their contract. The Society resolved therefore that he had no entitlement to claims of this nature, but to oblige the couple they were given leave to go to London from 1 March to 1 June with no deduction of salary, 'upon condition of their finding security to the Society to return and fulfil their part of the Contract.' It was also agreed to give them £20 at the end of the contract, 'on their good behaviour always.' Lord Drummorie and John Carmichael stood surety for them, and William Tytler was asked to draw up the obligation (i.e. the contract relating to the time in London).¹¹⁴ Again there was an emphasis on tying the musicians as closely as possible to the Society's wishes.

The Society was at this time not making much profit to subsidise the large salaries they were prepared to give to singers. But the constant demand for membership places and the increasing importance of the concerts in the social life of the city meant that standards had to be kept high, and the Directors were thus anxious to obtain the best performers. They were also just beginning to think of other premises, and so the membership was increased to 130,¹¹⁵ partly to have more cash in hand, and partly in anticipation of the costs of the 'new room'.

In a minute of 2 March 1752, it was noted that Passerini had refused to sign the papers described above, with all sorts of objections, but the Society refused to change its demands. They told him that if he tried to leave town there would be a warrant against him. In a minute of 3 March, the names of several creditors in the town appeared, wanting a warrant against him, and one was obtained but not sent that day. A letter in French (to avoid any misunderstanding) asked him to

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 35.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 36-37.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 48.

reconsider, but he still did not sign. On 4 March, he was taken before a magistrate and John Carmichael, the Director, guaranteed his appearance. The wholly laudable efforts of the Society to provide the best musicians for its concerts were taking it into areas of the law which it had surely not foreseen. The Directors, however, had among their number lawyers who were able to argue the Society's case against Passerini and stop him from leaving the city.¹¹⁶

The matter lay until 9 June, when another demand came from Passerini to be released after two years. The Society agreed to this on condition that the couple worked for three months after the two years to repay the three months' absence given them under the old contract, and that they got no travel money.

Mr. Passerini will therefore give a direct answer to the above, That the whole may be laid before the General Meeting who alone can release him from his contract.¹¹⁷

The General Meeting in June 1752 agreed that dealings with Passerini should be left to the discretion of the Directors, and the couple received their salary of £130 in the June accounts. In July a minute recorded yet again Passerini's desire to have their contract shortened, along with the other conditions mentioned before. The Society, perhaps becoming weary of the dispute, shortened the contract time to two years, with a request for two months' employment without pay as compensation for the three months leave they had had. It also asked for the return of £20 given to Passerini at the time of their leave:

This is the final Resolution of the Governor and Directors with respect to Mr. Passerini's representations and the demands therein contained, from which they are resolved not to depart, so that Mr. Passerini needs give himself nor them no farther trouble upon the head, and surely Mr. and Madame Passerini ought to be gratefull to the Directors who have given now a fresh indulgence to them by abating one month of their service, for which too they are allowed their salary, whereby they are in condition to repair to London full as early next year as they did this year.¹¹⁸

In the accounts for 1752-53, the Passerinis were paid three quarters of the year's salary up to 12 January 1753, at which date they left the service of the Society.¹¹⁹ The experience gives several pointers to the future conduct of both the Society and other highly-paid musicians. The constant efforts of the Society to bind

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 40.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 42.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 56.

employees to their contract were in the end largely defeated by the employees' intransigence. The actions of the Passerinis showed that Edinburgh did not have the resources to compete with London, and Cristina Passerini is the only example of a singer working in Edinburgh before success elsewhere. The other well-known singers who worked for the Society had passed the peak of their professional lives, as witness the careers of Rochetti and Baldassare above, and others discussed below. Edinburgh was able to afford good second-rank singers, but not to keep those who knew they had a market in London. Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci was a possible exception to this, but he came to Edinburgh for his own pressing financial and personal reasons (see below).

The singer who appeared in the concerts in the mid-1750s was a Miss Rodburn, daughter of a musician in Glasgow.¹²⁰ She worked under a different arrangement, whereby the Society had her taught by Pasquali,¹²¹ and her board was also paid.¹²² Her father was paid sums of 5 gns. and £9 in 1754 and 1755, presumably as her salary, but she herself was not paid directly until June 1757, when she was given three quarters of one year's salary (£26-15-6) and £5 board. She was then employed for a full year and paid £30-14-0 in May 1758. Pasquali was paid for teaching her certainly until 1757,¹²³ so her modest salary appears to have been added to by the lessons provided and the payment of her board in Edinburgh, away from her family. The inclination of the Society however was for foreign, preferably Italian, singers, and one of its members, James Callender, wrote to the Treasurer in November 1757, telling him of Madame Mariana Mazzanti:

...[who has] sung a whole season at the Opera and at Mr. Handel's oratorios as likeways at Ranelagh [pleasure gardens in London]...she has a very high sallary from the Opera and the highest appointments given at Ranelagh. ...She is so circumstanced as to be contented to be in a place where she is considered in the light of the first singer...she is young and has a genteel appearance and of a very decent life and behaviour.¹²⁴

The letter from the Treasurer in reply, dated 10 November, acknowledged that the Society could not afford a first-rate singer, but pointed out that with teaching fees,

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

musicians could add substantially to their salaries. The letter also contained a description of her duties to the Society:

You know her duty in our Society is very easie, only to attend the concert every Friday night and sing four songs and to attend the rehearsals and perform in the oratorios of which we generally have four in the year, three in winter and one in summer, for which we wou'd give a sallary of £100 a year, this with her benefit concert, and the advantage of teaching would be very considerable. Her concert depends intirely on herself in being discreet and obliging which I dare say she will not be deficient in, considering the complaicece we all show to strangers.¹²⁵

Several elements of the above are worthy of note. It is a rare example of precise definition of a singer's obligations to the Society, it confirms her entitlement to a benefit concert, and also puts into words some of the social requirement which played a part in the success of any performer. It also confirms the place which oratorio performance had by 1757 in the Society's year. Soon after Mazzanti's arrival at the end of 1757, a letter referred to her as 'sings well and pleases the company here.'¹²⁶

Madame Mazzanti was herself content in Edinburgh until March 1760, when she wrote to the Directors complaining of 'neglect of her benefit and sundry other greivances', and asking for an increase in salary.¹²⁷ The Directors' reply came in June, and was not pleasant.¹²⁸ It pointed out how she herself had not cultivated the number of pupils by whom she might have increased her popularity and her income, and that her small repertoire had not endeared her to the company who attended the concerts. She was refused leave to go to York for ten weeks in the summer.

It is quite inconsistant [sic] with our plan to give a salary of £100 a year to a singer and want her all the summer.¹²⁹

The Directors offered instead six weeks' leave in September and October and suggested strongly that she learn new songs and practise them. She remained employed by the Society until the end of November 1761, when she was in Newcastle and not fulfilling her contract, and was informed by letter that she was no longer needed. Her case differs from that of the Passerinis in that the Society

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 87.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 91.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 115.

¹²⁸ See p. 92.

¹²⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 116.

seems not to have given in to her requests. She was a woman on her own (there is no mention of a husband or manager), but the tone of the Directors' reply to her complaints indicates that she had not made any effort to fulfil her part in the musical life of the city. The Passerinis had refused to believe that a contract meant what it said, and Mazzanti refused to exert herself, perhaps not appreciating the difference between life in London and in Edinburgh. The break between her and the Society was not quite final, however, as she was paid £18 in the accounts for 1765 for 'entering to sing in the concert on 13 July, 1764, at £3 stg. per month.'¹³⁰ No accurate dates were noted, but the amount indicates that she probably sang in the concerts for July and August 1764, and then in the following season from November until February 1765.

A Mrs. Gordon was engaged occasionally to sing in oratorios at this time, but was never salaried. John Collet and his wife were engaged in May 1762,¹³¹ and stayed for two years. They returned in 1768-9 and stayed in the city thereafter. They were string player and singer. Mr. Collet was paid in 1763¹³² and 1764,¹³³ in the second year with his wife, the payment being £30 per year. Mrs. Collet was not listed individually in the accounts, possibly because she sang in the oratorios only. They left Edinburgh to go to London, from where Mrs. Collet apparently wrote to William Douglas, Treasurer of the Society, asking whether the couple might return and find work again with the Society. He replied with encouragement,¹³⁴ but they did not appear in the accounts until January 1769, when Mr. Collet was paid one gn. 'for performing at the oratorio'.¹³⁵ He was paid three gns. in the following August 'for his trouble of performing in the concert when desired', and when he died (date unknown), his funeral expenses appeared in the 1775 accounts.¹³⁶ Mrs. Collet was paid £6-11-6 at the same time 'per receipt' (i.e. for individual engagements).

The Italian singer who arrived at the same time as the Collets was Signora Cremonini, probably sent by James Bremner from Naples. He had played for the Society from 1756-60 with his brother Robert, and had left to study the violin abroad. The Treasurer had written to him in January 1761, seeking help in finding a

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹³⁵ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 18.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

singer.¹³⁷ There is no record of the date of her contract, but she was paid one year's salary of £112 from 1761, with an enormous sum of expenses in addition.¹³⁸ In November 1762, a meeting of Directors was informed that she had left Edinburgh without leave, and was believed to have gone to London. The Society instituted legal proceedings against her to recover money they felt was owed, although they did at first offer her money to return. She did not accept, and in January 1763, a London agent of the Society was instructed to raise a Chancery suit.¹³⁹ There is no indication of how this was resolved.

In the same letter, however, there was a recommendation to engage a singer and harpsichordist found for the Society by a connection in Rome. This was Signor Doria and his wife, who came to Edinburgh later in 1763, and were with the Society until 1769. Signora Doria was paid separately from her husband, unlike the custom followed with previous couples. She was paid £112 salary for the first year,¹⁴⁰ and her husband was awarded £40 a year in November 1763,¹⁴¹ when it was pointed out to a Directors' meeting that he had so far not been given any payment. He was engaged to play the harpsichord and organ for the concerts, and attend the rehearsals for the oratorio performances. There was no difficulty in the relationship between the Dorias and the Society, at least none serious enough to be entered in the Minutes, and in January 1766 they were given an increase in salary from the separate amounts of previous years (£112 and approx. £40) to £170 per year for them both, in a new contract to last three years.¹⁴² Later in the same month, a Directors' meeting agreed on the sum of £185 for both instead, without recording any particular reason for their change of mind. Possibly they wished to reward good service, and certainly they would wish to avoid the lengthy process of finding other performers. Whatever the reason, Signor and Signora Doria fulfilled their three-year contract, and left in 1769.

Alongside the women singers in the concerts during the 1760s, John Aitken, precentor of St. Andrew's Church in the city centre, was employed on a freelance

¹³⁷ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 120. This is a good example of the use the Treasurer had to make of any contact whose judgment he might trust.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 133, e.g. £56 extra because of sickness on the journey and £25 for clothes in Rome.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 140.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 164.

basis at 4/- per concert from 1762 to 1770.¹⁴³ He received payments each year 'per receipts' with amounts varying from £8-12-0 in 1763 to 10/- in 1767. Only in 1765 was he offered a salary of £16 per year for 'one new song at least once a month and to attend regularly otherways the Treasurer is to stop 5/- of his sallary for every night he is absent, except from sickness'.¹⁴⁴ This arrangement was not repeated in subsequent years, so it may be concluded that it did not work to the satisfaction of the Society. Aitken was engaged only sporadically after 1770 by the Society to take part in oratorios at one gn. per performance, but he sang elsewhere in the city. He was connected with two important Masonic Lodges (see Chapter 6).

Another local singer employed for a time was Mrs. Hester Woodman, who in April 1768 was given a contract of £15 per year to sing when needed in the concerts and the oratorios.¹⁴⁵ She had already taken part in one oratorio, but with the winter season finished there was not a great demand in the concerts, as the Society already had Madame Doria.¹⁴⁶ The Treasurer suggested that she practise some duets which she might sing with Cornforth Gilson, and because of the existence of the plan books for this period, the dates of some of her appearances are known.¹⁴⁷ The salary was never paid, however, and she, like Aitken, received sums per receipt in 1768-69.

Cornforth Gilson was a church musician from Durham who had been invited to Edinburgh in 1755 by the Town Council, to improve the standard of music and singing in the churches.¹⁴⁸ His appointment followed on a movement to teach church music of a wider repertoire than formerly used, started by Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire. Grant was promoting the education of choir singers on his estate from about 1746,¹⁴⁹ was a member of the Edinburgh Musical Society from 1751 and a Director from 1772-90. As news of the modern style of psalmody being taught in Grant's area spread to Edinburgh and Glasgow, both cities started schools of church music for the public, subsidised by

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 132.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 158.

¹⁴⁵ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 9.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁴⁷ See the section below on the analysis of singers' appearances in the plan books.

¹⁴⁸ Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

¹⁴⁹ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 176. See also J.M.Patrick, *Four centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, London, 1949.

the local councils.¹⁵⁰ Gilson supervised the schools in Edinburgh, and also helped the Musical Society with the vocal work for their oratorio performances:

The Directors appoint Mr. Gelson [sic] to Teach the Heriot Hospital Boys the Chorus's and what other pieces of musick they shall direct, also to attend and teach the gentlemen performers the Chorus's of any oratorio they are to perform and to continue to sing and play himself in the Concerts, for which they have agreed to augment his sallary to £15 sterling yearly comencing [sic] this day [16 March 1757].

The Society paid him a salary from 1756-62, but on receipts only in 1763.¹⁵¹ He received an average of £12 per year. In November 1763 he applied for an increase and the Directors awarded him £20 per year:

he obliging himself to sing when desired what songs, duets or choruses shall be appointed him by any of the Directors and to attend the concerts and rehearsals regularly, on these conditions and his signing this along with the Deputy Governor, the Directors desire the Treasurer to pay the said salary weekly as formerly.¹⁵²

It was unusual to ask an employee to sign such an undertaking – possibly the Society was attempting yet again to make clear that it expected its requirements to be carried out properly. It was also unusual to be paid weekly. The custom had always been that the musicians were paid twice a year, and this special provision might have foreshadowed Gilson's later financial problems.

He asked for permission in January 1764 to use the new concert hall for his benefit concert, but was refused as he had left the service of the Society.¹⁵³ There are indications in letters to and from the Society that he went to London and then Dublin,¹⁵⁴ from where he wrote to ask to be employed again in Edinburgh. He needed travelling expenses, but the Directors refused to advance him these, not being entirely sure whether he would go back to London, as he was in Dublin only on leave granted him by the Dean of Windsor. He was assured instead that if he came to Edinburgh, he could be employed by the Society, although it could not speak for his former employers in the churches and the Town Council. Experience of dealings with musicians was making the Society more wary and less generous in

¹⁵⁰ Marr, *Music for the People*, p. xv.

¹⁵¹ EMS Minutes, vol. II., pp. 110, 124, 133, 142.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 147.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 162, 179.

the offers it made. In February 1767, however, Gilson was sent £10 for travel,¹⁵⁵ and he did return to work for some years with the Society, principally in the oratorio performances, for which he took responsibility, but also as a singer in the concerts when needed.

In January 1769, he was advanced eight gns. of his payment for the March oratorio, 'in consideration of his bad health',¹⁵⁶ and from that time he suffered health and monetary problems which the Society was burdened with, in the sense that it had to answer appeals for extra money for medicines, or for a journey to London to consult doctors. To this the Society responded by sending a Director, Dr. Gregory, to assess his condition, and paid him one gn. per week for six weeks.¹⁵⁷ In 1770-72 he was paid sums from £18 to £30, which show that he was fulfilling the Society's expectations, but in 1773 his debts were such that his house was threatened, and the Society decided to assist by giving his daughter (also a singer, who was sometimes asked to sing in the concerts) a benefit, and paying off the most pressing creditors.¹⁵⁸ The sense of social responsibility among the Directors of the Society caused them to behave at such times with real kindness, and Gilson's case can be regarded as an illustration of the constant strain of trying to conduct a businesslike relationship with employees who had no other body to turn to in time of hardship. As a result of the decision to give money to his daughter, however, his own salary was reduced, and in March 1775 he resigned in a manner which led the Society to agree that it could find a good replacement for less. He did further work in the oratorios in 1776-78, and the expenses of his wife's funeral were noted in the 1775 accounts.¹⁵⁹

The castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci was employed by the Edinburgh Musical Society as their principal singer from June 1768 until the end of 1769. His was a well-known name since his triumphs in London, especially in Dr. Arne's *Artaxerxes* in the early 1760s. He spent some time in Dublin before accepting the Society's offer of work, which is noted on 2 June 1768.

Mr. William Douglas [Treasurer] acquainted the meeting that in consequence of powers from the Directors he had mett with Mr. Tenducci and agreed with him to sing and

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 180.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., vol. III, p. 18.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 25-6.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 104.

play on the harpsichord in the concert and at the oratorios for one year from the 10th of June next for a Sallary of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, and entered into a contract with him for that purpose. And as Mr. Tenducci had his family to bring from Ireland for which purpose he was obliged to go there but proposed being in Edinr. again about the 20th of June, he therefore begged he might be advanced Forty pounds sterling in part of his sallary which Willm. Douglas has done accordingly, all which the meeting approved of...¹⁶⁰

The plan for the concert on 27 May had Tenducci's name in it, which suggests along with the wording of the above minute that he was already in Edinburgh, and might have been asked to perform on trial.

He did go to Ireland and brought his wife to Edinburgh, singing in the concert again on 17 June. He performed on almost every concert date until July 1769, when his name was in the plan for the 7th and 14th, but each time a note reported him absent. He was the only singer on those dates, and there was no alteration added to the plans to cover for his absence, which must have caused great inconvenience. The Society had authorised a new contract for him in March 1769, for one year at a salary of £250, but with a penalty of £500 attached.¹⁶¹ How this penalty was to be invoked was not explained, nor was there any subsequent mention of it in connection with his absence. The increase in salary from £150 is a strong indication of how much the Society wanted to retain him, and he did return to sing twice in July and twice in August, the only singer in the plans for those concerts, until the concert season finished early, 'the town being thin of company'.¹⁶²

Tenducci's financial circumstances were never happy, as can be judged by his numerous applications to the Society for advances on his salary. The Directors in September 1768 allowed the Treasurer to give him 'twenty or thirty pounds on his [Tenducci's] receipt' although his previous debt of the £40 travelling expenses had not been repaid.¹⁶³ They felt able to help him 'in consideration of his being yet a stranger in the place and had not got so many scholars as he would get in winter'.¹⁶⁴ In June of the next year, however, after the half-yearly payment of

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 19.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

salaries when he was given £110 and £20 advance on the following quarter, he asked for more and was given the rest of his salary up to 10 September.¹⁶⁵ At a meeting of the Directors on 28 August, chaired by the Deputy Governor, Lord Kellie, Tenducci requested yet more help and was allowed his next quarter's salary when the meeting was assured by Lord Kellie that Tenducci had no intention of leaving Edinburgh.¹⁶⁶ At the meeting of Directors on 16 November, the day before the first concert of the new season, a letter from Mrs. Tenducci reported that her husband had gone to London for two or three weeks, and asked that she might sing in his place so that the contract might continue. The Directors agreed, but only until Christmas, saying that if Tenducci had not returned by that time the contract would be 'void on their part'.¹⁶⁷

Cornforth Gilson sang alone on 17 November, and Mrs. Tenducci joined him on the 24th. She appeared in every concert until the end of January 1770, but was paid on her own behalf for those after 14 December. Lord Kellie informed the Directors on 13 December that he had had letters from London:

...acquainting him that Tenducci had been making offer of himself at Drury Lane Theatre and at the Opera to engage for any time the[y] please, also had produced a letter from his wife alledgeing he had leave of the Directors [of the Edinburgh Musical Society] to stay away for a year which was intirely false as he had gone off without their knowledge and contrary to his contract.¹⁶⁸

Because the Directors dismissed Tenducci on the basis of this information, they paid Mrs. Tenducci 3 gns. per week, and arranged that she should receive the money personally 'to prevent dilligence from his creditors affecting it'.¹⁶⁹ It is plain that however much money he might have earned in Edinburgh, Tenducci was unable to return to the city for the time being because of the debts he had already run up. In the accounts for 1770, Mrs. Tenducci was paid a total of 21 gns., which indicates that she sang on seven occasions under her own contract.¹⁷⁰

Tenducci sang on three further occasions for the Society, in July and August 1780 (four concerts), July 1781 (four concerts), and on 5 August 1785. His

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 32.

appearances were recorded in the plan books, but not mentioned in the minutes or in the appropriate accounts, which perhaps indicates that he came to the concerts on these dates under a different arrangement, related to his visits to the family of the Earls of Hopetoun, who lived at Hopetoun House, near Edinburgh.¹⁷¹ The Musical Society had only one further monetary transaction with him, a payment of 5 shillings itemised in the accounts for November 1781, possibly connected with his work in the previous July, although it was not identified as such.¹⁷² The sum was sent 'by an express to Mr. Tenducci at Hopetoun House.' George Thomson, the collector of Scots songs and editor of *Melodies of Scotland*, wrote of his singing:

Tenducci, though not of the band, nor resident among us, made his appearance occasionally when he came to visit the Hopetoun family, his liberal and steady patrons; and while he remained he generally gave some concerts at the hall, which made quite a sensation among the musicals. I considered it a jubilee year whenever Tenducci arrived, as no singer I ever heard sang with more expressive simplicity, or was more efficient, whether he sang the classical songs of Metastasio, or those of Arne's *Artaxerxes*, or the simple melodies of Scotland. To the latter he gave such intensity of interest by his impassioned manner, and by his clear enunciation of the words, as equally surprised and delighted us. I never can forget the pathos and touching effect of his *Gilderoy*, *Lochaber no more*, *The Braes of Ballenden*, *I'll never leave thee*, *Roslin Castle*, &c. These, with the *Verdi Prati* of Handel, *Fair Aurora* from Arne's *Artaxerxes*, and Gluck's *Che faro*, were above all praise.¹⁷³

These comments from a well-known contemporary musical figure raise several points of interest. Although undated, they must refer to the later appearances of the singer, since Thomson was in his early teens when Tenducci first worked in the city. He gives a clear picture of Tenducci's style and mastery of his art, explaining his great popularity. He also names items from Tenducci's repertoire of songs which were most appreciated, information which is difficult to find in the plan books.¹⁷⁴ Thirdly, he shows that the singer was able after a time to return to the city despite his record of debt, and take advantage of the social and musical contacts made on his previous visit. Lastly, Thomson's obvious enthusiasm for Tenducci's skill supports the idea of the Society's striving to obtain the best artists possible, and to make Edinburgh a centre of high quality music-making.

¹⁷¹ Both the 2nd and 3rd Earl were members of the Musical Society.

¹⁷² Ibid., vol. IV, p. 8.

¹⁷³ Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter 4 for discussion of the song repertoire given in the plan books.

The departure of such a popular performer meant that the Society was once more in search of a singer, and the Treasurer moved quickly to try to fill the gap. With the help of the Earl of Kellie, Signor Luciani in London was offered a contract for £250 per year, the same as Tenducci had been earning. Luciani was recommended by J.C. Bach,¹⁷⁵ which satisfied the gentlemen in Edinburgh, and the singer gave his first performance on 2 March 1770. From the evidence of the plan books, he was the most regular and faithful attender in the history of the Society. From March 1770 until December 1771 he appeared in sixty three concerts, and in all but seven of those he was the only singer. This was not the usual way of presenting the vocal part of the concerts, and it is possible that Luciani stipulated that he should be the only singer. No other singer appeared alone, except in the cases where another was marked absent, and it can only be presumed that his talents were such that the Society was happy to allow this.

In the time he spent in Edinburgh Luciani was popular with the Society, since they renewed his contract until February 1772.¹⁷⁶ He last sang on 13 December 1771, and the arrival of Signora Corri and her husband Domenico might have hastened his departure if he was indeed reluctant to share the stage with others. He and Signora Corri were to appear together on 20 December, and there is a note of his absence in the plan for that evening. The last reference to him in Society papers is in a letter to him from John Welsh dated 9 March 1772, saying that he 'broke the agreement', and that they would pay him only £15-12-6, which was all that he was owed.¹⁷⁷ He had evidently been requesting more.

The Corris came from Italy on the recommendation of a Mr. Grant in Rome, a friend of the Society there,¹⁷⁸ the husband to play the harpsichord and violin, and the wife to sing. They served the Society for fourteen years, and Signora Corri appeared continuously in the concert plans. Signor Corri caused some difficulties in the course of their employment, as he quickly realised that London could be more lucrative, especially for his wife. Dublin was also attractive, as is shown by a letter to Corri from Thomas Vincent, a concert organiser there, dated 2 March 1774, in which the couple was offered £300 for some concerts at the Rotunda.¹⁷⁹ They

¹⁷⁵ EMS Minutes, vol III, p. 29.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁷⁷ GD113/5/210/6/11/2.

¹⁷⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. III, pp. 40-41.

¹⁷⁹ GD113/5/210/6/18.

were asked to be there by 18 April and were promised a benefit as well. There is no indication of whether they went, but Corri did engage in further correspondence with Vincent on behalf of the Society, since an undated minute requested him to ask Vincent when Pinto was intending to return to Edinburgh.¹⁸⁰ In September 1774 Corri asked permission for the couple to go to London for twelve nights' performances at the Pantheon from mid-December to the end of January, and again from mid-March 1775 until the end of April.¹⁸¹ Corri pledged himself to find a substitute singer, and to be punctual in attendance at the concerts in February and May. The Directors, after consideration, decided:

that it would be so hard and cruel a case to prevent any of their Band from making twelve or fifteen hundred pounds for in [sic] so short a time (there being only three weeks absence during the time of session and that time to be supplied by another singer), that they cannot think to refuse the permission desired and the more especially as Mr. Corri has declared his intentions in that event of engaging for another year;¹⁸²

On 25 November 1774, however, even before their planned journey to London, it was noted that they had abused the privilege of leave of absence. It was decided therefore to limit periods of leave to two weeks, and to tighten the arrangements for granting permission.¹⁸³ In December, Corri asked again on the same subject, saying that he had been promised sums of nine hundred or a thousand pounds. The time involved was longer than at first proposed, four months continuous absence, but the Directors agreed 'for many good reasons'.¹⁸⁴ It is possible that the Directors knew they had little chance of preventing the couple from leaving the city, and chose to give in gracefully, placing as strict an obligation as they were able on the Corris to return.

In 1778, Corri took on work at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh and the Society objected that the Directors had not been consulted, and that either the couple's salary might be reduced, or that six months' notice might be given them.¹⁸⁵ The Treasurer also wrote to the lessee of the theatre, telling him that no

¹⁸⁰ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 86.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 88. Corri had his opera *Alessandro nell'Indie* performed at the King's Theatre in 1774 (F. Petty, *Italian Opera in London 1760-1800*, Ann Arbor, 1972, p.141), and his wife sang at the opening in 1775 of the Hanover Square Rooms (*New Grove*, 1980, p. 803).

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 129.

assignation of Corri's salary could be secure, an indication that Corri was probably in debt.¹⁸⁶ The theatre venture failed, and he started a music publishing business with a partner, James Sutherland, which was more successful. His son John was also a partner in the business, because of his father's financial problems. Corri published in 1779 a work of his own, *A Select Collection of Most Admir'd Songs and Duets*, which had accompaniments for the songs written out in full. This was becoming the fashion, as figured bass became less common. His wife continued to be a prominent performer in the concerts until her bad health caused them to leave the Society in 1785.¹⁸⁷ The couple left Edinburgh for London in 1790 on the death of Corri's partner in his publishing business, James Sutherland.¹⁸⁸ Their daughter Sophia married the composer Jan Dussek in 1792, and the two men were partners, again in a publishing enterprise, for some years in London. The Society continued to maintain contact, and ordered music from the firm on at least one occasion.¹⁸⁹ The visit mentioned below of Sophia Corri to the city in 1790 must have been a consequence of the same contact.

The other singer of note to work for the Musical Society was Pietro Urbani, who joined it in 1785 and was still employed when the records ceased in 1795. He was a teacher of music in the city, and also made some attempts to set up a publishing business and to revive public performances of Handel's oratorios.¹⁹⁰ His name was first listed in the plan book for the concert on 5 August 1785, with Mrs Corri and Tenducci. He then sang on every occasion for which names are given until the plan book stops on 11 August 1786, in at least 33 concerts in succession. Urbani gave no problems to the Society, indeed helped to secure an Italian singer, Signora Sultani, for the fifteen months from February 1787 to May 1788.¹⁹¹ He composed several works including *The Siege of Gibraltar*, a battle piece which was played at least once in the concerts, on 7 April 1786. He also published a series of volumes of Scots songs,¹⁹² following Corri's example.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 132.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., vol. IV, p. 45.

¹⁸⁸ Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 295

¹⁸⁹ GD113/5/316b/11 – a bill dated 1795 for Haydn's symphonies nos. 7 ('Le Midi', composed 1761) and 9 (composed 1762), his quartet op. 72, published in 1795 by Corri and Dussek (Hoboken, *Haydn Verzeichnis*, vol. I, III: 69-74), and Pleyel's overtures nos. 7 and 8.

¹⁹⁰ Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

¹⁹¹ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 64.

¹⁹² P. Urbani, *Selection of Scots Songs harmonised and improved with simple and adapted graces*, Edinburgh, 1792-1804, 6 vols.

In Urbani's first year with the Society, he was joined by a Mrs. Stewart, an Edinburgh singer. She was in the plans for every concert in 1786 (to the end of the book in August), and in July her husband asked for financial help to take her to Italy. The Society was sufficiently interested to present her with 20 gns. to help with her training.¹⁹³ It is not known whether they went abroad, but they certainly spent time in London where Mrs. Stewart was a pupil of Tenducci. The latter wrote in March 1787 to the Directors to recommend a violinist, and added a postscript:

PS: Your Mrs. Stewart my apprentice is accounted here as a vocal performer in the very first line. She does honour not only to you her former patrons but to the very place which gave her birth. She sings for a night or two next week before the university of Oxford in place of Madame Mara and Mrs. Billington, for which she has £50 sterling.¹⁹⁴

Mesdames Mara and Billington were two of the most highly-acclaimed singers of this time, and the fact that Mrs. Stewart was accepted in their place was a great compliment.¹⁹⁵ She returned to sing for the Edinburgh Musical Society in November 1789 and stayed for one year. She was recommended by Domenico Corri, then in London, in May 1789. In a letter to the Directors regarding singers for the race week season, he said: 'as to bravura there is few befor[e] her' and commended her knowledge of Handel's music.¹⁹⁶ Her first contract was to sing from January to August 1789 with two benefits,¹⁹⁷ but it is possible that she never arrived to fulfil this contract as there was no mention of her in the Minutes until she was employed on a weekly basis in November 1789 until June 1791.¹⁹⁸ The accounts show that she was asked to sing approximately every two weeks.

In early 1788 the Society started an unusual agreement in sharing the employment and expenses of a boy singer, Maxwell Shaw, with the Vestry (governing body) of the Episcopal Chapel.¹⁹⁹ The name of the chapel was not stated, but it is likely that it was that of St. Andrew in the Cowgate, which was situated only two hundred yards from St. Cecilia's Hall. The arrangement was to provide clothes, maintenance and education. Shaw was given harpsichord lessons

¹⁹³ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 63.

¹⁹⁴ CD 113/4/158/154.

¹⁹⁵ McVeigh, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁹⁶ GD 113/4/158/408.

¹⁹⁷ GD 113/4/164/206.

¹⁹⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 111.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

by Urbani,²⁰⁰ and violin lessons by Mr. Skirving, a local teacher.²⁰¹ Although the payment to Shaw and his tutors commenced in 1788, he had appeared in the plan book for 1786, listed in three concerts on 23 June, 14 July and 28 July. There is no record of these engagements in the Minutes. Since no plan books survive for the dates after August 1786, it is impossible to say what appearances Shaw made after that date.

In December 1788, it was minuted that the Vestry of the 'English Chapel' was not willing to confirm the sought-after agreement, and so the Society decided only to match what the Vestry would provide. The contribution was £10 per year from each organisation, to pay for Shaw's 'board, cloaths and Education'.²⁰² Various payments in the accounts for June 1789 indicate that Shaw was singing in the concerts,²⁰³ and that the Society was paying for his board and clothing. In November of the same year, however, a letter from Thomas Tod, a friend of Shaw's father, asked Gilbert Innes to use his influence with the Directors to help Shaw and his family, as he 'has lost his voice'.²⁰⁴ A second letter early in February 1790 said that Shaw's situation was desperate, and that he needed help until his voice settled down.²⁰⁵ It is clear from this that Shaw's voice had broken and that he was no longer singing with the Society. Tod appealed to the Directors a third time on 16 February, complaining of the short reply he had received from Innes, and insisting that the Society had a duty to assist Shaw and his family.²⁰⁶ Innes copied his final answer to Tod on the back of Tod's letter:

Sir, I have told you repeatedly, I have no power of giving away any part of the funds of the Musical Society, but in common with the other managers. You will therefore please apply to them by letter or Petition for anything you want regarding Maxwell Shaw. Mr. Sanderson [the Society's Collector] will lay your demands before the Directors.

This reply was dated the same day as Tod's request, and the Society paid Shaw up to 27 March 1790.²⁰⁷ The change of tone from earlier agreements to pay charitable sums to various of their employees is worthy of remark. It might have been a

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 91.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 88.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 97.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 102.

²⁰⁴ GD113/4/159/76.

²⁰⁵ GD113/4/159/112.

²⁰⁶ GD113/4/159/138.

²⁰⁷ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 116.

consequence of having more business-like men in charge of the Society's affairs – Gilbert Innes was a bank director – or of the Society's funds in general being strained. Maxwell Shaw recovered his voice, and became a well-known soloist and teacher,²⁰⁸ but did not work for the Musical Society again.

One of the pillars of the concerts throughout their existence was crumbling at this time, namely the presence of a female singer. After the departure in 1785 of Signora Corri and her husband, who had been in Edinburgh for fifteen years, there was a succession of lady singers who stayed for much shorter periods. Pietro Urbani filled well one role which the Society expected of its soloists – i.e. he was Italian. But the constant efforts made by the Directors to attract a female Italian after 1785 met with no real success. Signora Sultani, who came on the recommendation of Urbani in February 1787, was in Edinburgh for just over one year, and was possibly succeeded for a part of 1788 by another local lady, a Miss George, of whom little was recorded except the minute of 19 May:

The Meeting taking into their consideration the necessity of having a female singer [the meeting had noted the expiration of Sultani's contract that day], and hitherto their attempts to engage one from London had been unsuccessful, having also been assured that Miss George is not engaged from November to May, they are of opinion an offer should be made her of one hundred pounds for that time and a benefit with permission to perform in the Playhouse, the state of the funds not allowing a larger offer.²⁰⁹

There is no payment to Miss George in any account, so she was probably the first of several singers who found the Society's terms insufficient. One entry in the accounts for 1788, however, perhaps indicates that she did indeed sing. A payment of 8/- was noted 'for a paragraph to announce Miss George to sing'.²¹⁰ This presumably refers to an advertisement, but no newspaper is named.

The boy singer Maxwell Shaw filled the gap left by the departure of Madame Sultani, until an English singer arrived from London at the end of 1788, on the recommendation of Joseph Reinagle²¹¹, and stayed until May 1789. She was a Miss Carline, heard in London by trusted advisers of the Society,²¹² and her father

²⁰⁸ Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

²¹⁰ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 88.

²¹¹ GD113/4/158/312.

²¹² GD113/4/158/316.

negotiated a sum of £150 for her to appear in the concerts until May of the following year.²¹³ This was much more than had been offered to Miss George, and is perhaps a sign of the Society's desperation to have a female singer at almost any price. After Mrs. Stewart's return to Edinburgh Miss Carline's engagement was not extended, and from a letter to Gilbert Innes, it might seem that she was unhappy in Edinburgh.²¹⁴ She excused herself from a rehearsal as she had a cold, and complained that if she was to sing only two songs then she could not include a Scotch air. The number of songs could indicate that Miss Carline had been given a junior position after the re-employment of Mrs. Stewart.

A Madame Guidon appears in the accounts for the last half of 1789,²¹⁵ and a Miss Ryder for the first half of 1791.²¹⁶ Both were paid 'by order', rather than on a contract basis, which, like 'per receipt', was the wording used by the Society to show a more casual arrangement. During 1790, Mrs. Stewart and Urbani were both in the concerts, and in that year there was a series of special concerts given in July and August by visiting soloists from London, Giovanni Giornovich (violinist), some of whose compositions were in the Society's possession, and Sophia Corri (singer), daughter of the couple who had worked for the Society. Giornovich gave two concerts on 22 July and 2 August, and Miss Corri one on 29 July, arranged by the Society.²¹⁷ The profit from these, given to the musicians, was not large (£23 each), since travelling and living expenses took away from the total. In a letter to Gilbert Innes dated 4 August, Alexander Fraser Tytler (a Director of the Society and son of William, also a Director) indicated that these concerts had been planned to boost the Society concerts as a whole, and suggested that the artists should be given a 'present' of £20 from Society funds.²¹⁸ This was done and noted in the accounts at the end of the year.²¹⁹

Efforts continued to bring a female singer from London, and there are letters in the Innes papers referring to more than one unsuccessful negotiation. (The Minutes of the Society from 1790 consist of copies of the accounts, notices of the annual meetings and a very few administrative decisions. The practice of entering

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ GD113/4/164/181, a letter dated 3 April 1789.

²¹⁵ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 106.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 128.

²¹⁷ GD113/4/164/207.

²¹⁸ GD113/4/164/208.

²¹⁹ EMS Minutes, Vol. IV, p. 120.

correspondence had been abandoned, leaving the Innes papers as the only source of information on the search for singers.) Dr. Samuel Arnold, editor of the series of volumes of Handel's collected works being produced at this time, was in touch with the Directors of the Society and suggested on 17 November 1790 a Mrs. Iliff, who was engaged at the Haymarket Theatre from June 1791, but would come to Edinburgh until then for £150 and a benefit.²²⁰ The Directors did not consider the proposition quickly enough, and he wrote again on 8 December asking for a speedy reply.²²¹ The lady's husband (with whom the contract had to be made), also wrote on 15 December, rather acidly pointing out that the delay had caused them to lose an engagement in Liverpool.²²² There is no explanation in the Society's papers for their lack of response. Either their internal organisation was not functioning well, or the singer's fee was too high.

When visiting London in January 1791, Gilbert Innes went to hear a Miss Cecilia Davies, and was encouraged by a letter from William Tytler to try to bring her to Edinburgh.²²³ She was reluctant to leave London before May, because she had students, unless she was promised £500. This was much too expensive for Edinburgh, but Tytler proposed that the Glasgow Musical Society should share some of the cost, and that the rest be made up with teaching fees.

Corri I dare say made three times that sum by teaching, and a woman singer with equal ability, as Miss Davi[e]s, educated from her infancy in Italy, I should think must have, would not fail to succeed with us.

A further letter from Tytler on 19 January said that the Edinburgh Musical Society would go as far as £200 for Miss Davies, as they needed a good singer to get audiences, and a ladylike person would appeal to the lady patrons.²²⁴ The amount which the Directors were prepared to authorise clearly showed their anxiety, but when Miss Davies wrote on 16 February to repeat that she would not come until May,²²⁵ they admitted defeat. Tytler probably persisted for as long as he did in hoping that she would be suitable because he approved of her Italian training. In

²²⁰ GD113/4/159/294.

²²¹ GD113/4/159/310.

²²² GD113/4/159/309.

²²³ GD113/4/159/314. See also Chapter 7 for a discussion of the influence of William Tytler on this period of the Society's life.

²²⁴ GD113/4/159/335.

²²⁵ GD113/4/164/47.

his next letter to Innes, he moved on to enquire about a Signora Lorenti or Laurenti, whose voice, he had heard, was not strong enough for the London halls.

Our room is but small and from its singular construction gives more aid to the voice than any Music Room I ever was in.

Again he stressed his own preference for Italian singers and training over English.²²⁶

For the start of the season in November 1791 there was a rush to employ someone because Mrs. Stewart had left the concerts, and Alexander Tytler sent news to his father from London that Madame Sestini, 'for many years the delight of London', was not engaged. In a letter to Innes, Tytler senior reported his son's comments – that she had lost some brilliance, but still had taste, feeling and a good figure. He suggested £150 for the months December-June, one or two benefits and £30 for travelling expenses.²²⁷ She did accept the Society's proposal, but cost more than anticipated, since she received a total of £298, and that only up to 5 April 1792.²²⁸ This sum of money for six months' work was proportionately far more than had been paid to the top soloists in all the history of the Society. Tenducci was receiving £250 per year in 1769, but that was for a full year as stated in his contract.²²⁹ The contrast between that salary and the demands which the society was forced to meet 25 years later shows that soloists with a good reputation were able almost to name their own price, as opportunities for them had expanded beyond all recognition. There was no longer a need for them to come as far away from London as Edinburgh in order to make money, as the provincial centres (Bath, Newcastle, and Manchester for example) were able to offer good jobs.²³⁰

It is no surprise to find that in May 1792, with Urbani the only singer in the employ of the Society, Natale Corri, a brother of Domenico who had stayed on in Edinburgh, was given £30 'to defray his expence [to travel] to Italy to engage a female singer'.²³¹ When he passed through London, he had apparently been asked to approach a Madame Negri, another of Tytler's favourites, because he wrote back to the Society saying that he had spoken to her, but that when he found she was

²²⁶ GD113/4/159/340.

²²⁷ GD113/4/164/149.

²²⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 137.

²²⁹ Ibid., vol. III, p. 19.

²³⁰ Burchell, *op. cit.*, Chapters 3, 4, 5.

²³¹ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 137.

under the protection of 'the Duke of S....y [Surrey]' he did not persist.²³² He went instead to Paris, meeting Puppo the former leader of the orchestra, and they auditioned Miss Giolivetti, who pleased them both. They recommended the Society should take this chance immediately, and said that she wished to bring her sister, also a musician.²³³ Corri was anxious to hurry back not only because it saved him a lengthy trip to Italy, but because the civil situation in Paris was becoming dangerous. On 13 August he wrote to say that if they could get passports he would bring both ladies, and that he had borrowed money from Puppo to get them to London. They were

perfectly stupefied by the smoke of the guns and the noise
... and [the] horror of six thousand dead bodies in the public
streets of Paris.²³⁴

They were successful in returning, and the agreement with Miss Giolivetti was minuted on 1 December 1792. The contract reflected the exasperation felt by the Directors over the preceding years, caused by the constant search for soloists, as it bound her for

two years certain at £200 per annum ... but that we shall
have it in our power to keep her a year longer.²³⁵

That was not the end of the financial demands, however, as the minute also stated:

... resolved to give occasionally some little presents to her
and her Sister as they have asked £250 per annum and at
leaving Paris seemed to expect something more than the
Salary Mr. Corri was impowered to give.

The same minute gave notice of the dismissal of four members of the orchestra and the sale of a harpsichord, no doubt in order to help pay for the new singer. The sum of £25 for the instrument did not appear in the accounts until December 1794.²³⁶ Miss Giolivetti remained with the Musical Society, marrying Natale Corri by June 1794. (She appears in the accounts for that time as 'Miss Giolivetti or Mrs. N. Corri'.)²³⁷

²³² GD113/4/160/340.

²³³ GD113/4/160/329.

²³⁴ GD113/4/160/328.

²³⁵ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 143.

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 158.

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 155.

ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION ON SINGERS IN THE PLAN BOOKS.

In the years from 1768, the plan books which have survived give much valuable information on the concert programmes and the singers who were employed at that time. Study of them indicates how important singers were to the Society, and why it went to such lengths to obtain the services of the best that it could afford. (References to plans of concerts are given in the text by date of concert, as there are no page or volume numbers in the books.)

There were always at least three songs, one in each act, and very often up to three more, either solos or duets. Although plans for the earlier part of the Society's life have not survived, there is no indication in the Minutes that the priorities for the concerts in the 1730s and 1740s were different from those apparent in the plan books. The wish to employ at least one singer at all times was as apparent in those years as it was later. In the years covered by the plan books, however, it is plain that one of the necessities for a concert was a singer, or better, two. Three was not unknown in 1768 - in July of that year all five concerts noted songs by Mrs. Woodman, Signora Doria and Signor Tenducci - but two was the norm and in 1768 there were no concerts with only one singer billed. The last concert of the year on 30 December listed both Signora Doria and Signor Tenducci, with a note at the bottom of the page saying that Tenducci was absent. For the concert of 6 January 1769, only Signora Doria's name was inserted in the plan, when she sang four songs. At the foot of this plan, a note was written, 'Tenducci absent', and this is a rare example of a singer's absence being acknowledged before the plan was written. More usually the name is in the programme and the note of absence appended.²³⁸

There is great variation in layout between the plans in the first volume (1768-71) and those in the subsequent two volumes (1778-86). Most detail appears in the first, as regards the singers. Their names are given and it is possible therefore to see who were given most solos, and which singers sang together. 1768 commenced with Aitken, Gilson and Signora Doria sharing several concerts. Signora Doria usually sang three items, Aitken two and Gilson one. On some occasions there was a duet by Gilson and Signora Doria, for example on 26

²³⁸ See Chapter 4 for a full discussion of the planning of the concert programmes.

February. When Mrs. Woodman was employed (from 22 April), Aitken no longer appeared. Tenducci's arrival (17 June) meant that Gilson did not sing for some weeks, but he returned for three concerts in September. When Tenducci and Signora Doria appeared together, they were given three solos each.

From 2 September until her return on 25 November Signora Doria was replaced by an unnamed lady presented in the plans simply as 'Madame', who was mentioned neither in the Minutes of the period nor in the accounts for 1769, where any payment should have appeared. This suggests that in her absence Signora Doria herself paid for a substitute, and that the Society was not aware of the lady's name at the time the plans were written. A similar situation arose from 31 March 1769 until 5 May, where the lady taking Signora Doria's place was again not named in the plans. The lady was not available on 21 April when Tenducci was the only singer recorded. On that occasion he sang four songs. Later in the year from 9 June until 4 August, Tenducci was alone in the concerts except for the one on 16 June, when a Miss Alphy (possibly a daughter or sister of the bassoon player who was with the Society from 1769-78) sang a duet with him. On 7 and 14 July when his absence was noted, there was no comment in the Minutes on the incidents, nor was there any threat of action against him. It is possible that he was attending one of his patrons, perhaps Society member the Earl of Hopetoun, and was therefore not pursued. His absence from the concerts after the autumn break as described above was noted on the page for the first concert of the new season on 17 November. His wife appeared in his place along with Gilson, and after Signora Tenducci's departure Gilson filled the gap before the arrival of Luciani. The first plan book closes at the time of the first concerts in which Signora Corri sang, on 20 and 27 December.

From this volume it emerges that there was a strict pattern of alternating vocal and instrumental pieces in the three acts of a concert, when there were two or more singers. The number of songs could be as high as eight, as on 22 July 1768, when Signora Doria and Tenducci each sang three times, Mrs. Woodman once, and there was possibly also a terzetto at the end with Tenducci, Doria and Gilson listed. However, Gilson's absence was noted, so the item might not have been performed. Such a large number of vocal items is rare, however, and the instrumental content of this concert was small – the 4th *Periodical Overture*, the 4th *Overture* by Filtz and an *Overture* by Lord Kellie. More usually the total of songs was six, with two singers, or four when only one singer was listed. The unusual nature of the programme was

possibly caused by the time of year, and an absence of instrumental players, either gentlemen or employees, towards the end of the concert season.

The information in the two further volumes of plans is much more scanty. There are weeks where no individual was named, and where this is not the case, the name which was most often listed was that of Signora Corri, since she was the principal soloist at that time. She was joined on occasion by Signora Puppo, the wife of the leader of the instrumentalists, Giuseppe Puppo. Nothing is known of her except her appearances in the concerts according to the plan books and some payments for singing in the Society's oratorio performances,²³⁹ but she was of a standard good enough for her to sing alone on three dates at the beginning of the new season on 16, 23 and 30 November 1780. She sang only three songs at each concert, and Signora Corri returned on 7 December to sing four items.

The plan books go on to name Tenducci on his visits to the city, Urbani and Mrs. Stewart, Maxwell Shaw, and two other singers about whom nothing else is known, a Mr. Masterson and a Mrs. Kennedy. The last concert recorded was on 11 August 1786.

The less rigorous record-keeping in the later volumes of the plan books can be linked to the tendency discussed in Chapter 4 for more choice to be left to the musicians, and less control to be exercised by the Directors. The general habit of not naming particular songs was extended to the singers themselves, and parallels the tendency in these years to allow entries for instrumental pieces as 'ad libitum'. The fact remains that the commitment to detail present in the first plan book was not carried on into the later ones, and it is consequently more difficult to have as accurate an idea of the scope of the concerts in the later years.

SUMMARY

An overall view of the musicians brought to Edinburgh by the Society shows that from the early years, the participation of foreign, usually Italian, performers was considered a necessity by the organisers. Jenny Burchell comments that it was

²³⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 5, and p. 16. It is probable that Signora Puppo was Rebecca Gibson, whose divorce proceedings against her husband are referred to in L. Leneman, *Alienated Affections*, 1998, p. 325. I am grateful to Dr. Alex Murdoch for this information.

most unusual for any provincial centre to have the number of salaried employees which were present in Edinburgh.²⁴⁰ The reputation of the concerts was enough to attract players and singers of some renown, but the difficulty lay in persuading them that the city could offer a long-term livelihood. The troubles which the Society had in keeping their best players were without exception caused by the natural desire of the musicians to better themselves. Some stayed for a few years, Puppo for example, but the only foreigner who actually settled for life in Edinburgh was Schetky. As a result the Society was very often spending time and money in replacing an important member of the concert team.

The popularity of women singers in particular was not unique to Edinburgh, but the presence of a woman singer was regarded as a necessary selling point for the concerts, and the Directors spared no effort, as shown by their recruiting the Passerinis from Russia, and several other singers from Italy directly. The Society's liking for the works of Handel, and the performance of oratorios which contained many solos for female voice meant that the lack of a lady soloist seriously interfered with performance plans. In the years especially after 1763, when the financial affairs of the Society relied on a steady stream of subscriptions more than on income from concerts, the Society had to be seen in the city as providing fashionable and attractive programmes, with attractive performers. The letter, referred to on p. 166, from Treasurer William Douglas in January 1761 to James Bremner, captures well the requirements of the Society:

There is one thing I must beg you'l Endeavour to procure for us and that is a Right Singer, its needless to say what fault the present [one] has, but we are in great want of a Successor for her – you know very well what would answer here – a woman preferable to a man, Good Looks you know bespeakes favour and if she had Comon Sence it would be a great addition. However these are only supplements to a singer. If she could Teach & play a little on any instrument it would be a great advantage to her ... a single woman would do better, but if that could not be got a married one would do. If you are oblige[d] to have recourse to the last, pray see her Husband is not an idle dron[e] ... In short a singer we must have should it be either man or woman.²⁴¹

The letter goes on to say that although the salary for a singer with the Society at that time was £100 per year, Bremner was authorised to offer as much as £50-£60 more to get the right person. Such a huge potential increase only

²⁴⁰ Burchell, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²⁴¹ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 120.

underlines the anxiety of the Society to replace the unsatisfactory Madame Mazzanti, and to illustrate the point made regarding its wish to have a good singer at any cost. It also shows the position of the Society in the employment of a husband, should such a person come with the soloist. The history of its dealings with couples has been indicated in their relationship with the Passerinis, where the husband was not the principal performer. The same may be said of Signor and Signora Doria and of the Corris. In each case the wife was the desired musician, but by the conventions of the time, the salary was paid to the husband and any negotiation was conducted by him. He occupied the position of agent, and certainly Signor Passerini and Signor Corri actively sought better engagements for their respective spouses. The career of the husband was directly affected by the position of the wife, and it is not surprising that the men worked to improve the status of their wives, as the way to improve their own. It is not known how much of a part the wives played in decision-making. It can only be assumed from the behaviour of these couples that the attempts of the husbands to find work outside Edinburgh, and especially in London, were agreeable to the wives, or at least that no evidence of discord has so far come to light.

One implication of William Douglas's letter is that the Society found it easier to deal with a single woman, but the careers of Mazzanti and Cremonini do not bear this out. The only native couple, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, by contrast behaved well towards the Society, and this was doubtless influenced by the fact that they wished to work in their own city. Foreign singers could not have felt the same loyalty to place, and were much less likely to settle for any length of time.

The Musical Society did its best to attract and keep players and singers of the highest standards concomitant with their ability to pay them, and performed a great service to the city by bringing such musicians to their concerts. The citizens of Edinburgh would not otherwise have had so many years of music presented by artists who had made their names in London and on the Continent. It cannot be denied that most of them were past their peak, at least in the case of the singers, but the Society made it possible to enjoy a standard of public music-making which would have taken longer to establish in the city without these efforts.

CHAPTER SIX

FREEMASONRY AND THE EDINBURGH MUSICAL SOCIETY

Freemasonry had been growing in Scotland throughout the seventeenth century, and contained elements which were attractive to the enquiring and clubbable eighteenth century mind. Their philosophy was grounded in the mediaeval craft of stonemasonry, with its connections to architecture, mathematics and ancient beliefs.¹ The idea of a lodge as a base for members in a district came from the custom of providing shelter at the site of a building for those masons who did not live locally, but who were members of the craft, able to give the correct 'word', by which was meant a mode of recognition for illiterate masons to prove their skill. In 1598 and 1599, two Statutes (sets of regulations) were introduced by William Schaw, an architect, which revived and developed mediaeval freemasonry.² There is no reliable historical connection between these and the practices of earlier centuries, and it is possible that the rituals formalised by Schaw date back only to his time. They took hold quickly, along with the organisation of a network of lodges which were more permanent than before. Membership was formed of working masons at first, but gradually began to include 'non-operative' or 'gentlemen' members. Their reasons for joining can only be speculated upon, but they might have included an interest in the older philosophies which had spread through Europe via the Renaissance, attraction to Freemasonry's egalitarianism and to the morality which was deist without being sectarian, and a natural fascination with any organisation which placed secrecy at its core.³

With the rise in numbers of non-operative masons in the eighteenth century, the lodges changed in nature, forming groups who used the philosophical background of the movement to engage in discussion, as the more secular literary clubs did. It is possible that the rituals of Freemasonry filled a part of their lives left empty by the rejection in the Reformed Church of display and colourful ceremony.⁴

¹ For a full account of the origins and development of the movement, see D. Stevenson, *The First Freemasons: Scotland's Early Lodges and their Members*, Aberdeen, 1988, and *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's Century, 1590-1710*, Cambridge, 1988.

² Stevenson, *The First Freemasons*, pp. 3-4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

As religious controversy took the place of political debate after the Union, the lodges were a place for tolerance and a vehicle for doing good through the funds for the indigent. The masonic habit of fellowship and socialising after meetings also suited the inclination of the times, when any excuse for a meal and a drink was welcome.⁵

In the first few years of the life of the Musical Society, there were several lodges in Edinburgh in whose rolls of membership can be found the names of members of the Society, and of the musicians who played for the Society.⁶ The most important of these were:

Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel), No. 1 (in existence by 1599)

Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, No. 2 (in existence by 1677)

Lodge Holyrood House (St. Luke's), No. 44 (founded 1734)

Lodge Vernon Kilwinning (later St. Giles') (founded 1741).⁷

The records of the lodges have been to a very large extent preserved because when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was formed in 1736, it asked all lodges then in existence to submit a list of members, and entered the information given in its own records. Minute books of some lodges also survive, and in them can be found notes of occupations and payments, arrangements for some ceremonies and reports of special meetings.

Meetings were normally held once a month for ordinary business, an extra one on St. John the Evangelist's Day (27 December), and one for the election of office-bearers.

1. That the lodge shall meet monthly upon the third Friday of every month over and above St. John the Evangelist's Day, and the day of the Election...⁸

⁵ See S. McVeigh, 'Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Music in Eighteenth Century Britain*, D. Wyn Jones, ed., Ashgate, 2000, pp. 72-100, for a survey of a similar musical and social environment.

⁶ The names of members of the Musical Society who were masons are listed by lodge in Appendix N.

⁷ Numbers were given to lodges only from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Vernon Kilwinning renamed itself Edinburgh St. Giles in 1760, and was absorbed into Canongate Kilwinning in 1779.

⁸ *The Book of Laws and Regulations of the Lodge of free and accepted Masons in Scotland intitled Vernon Kilwinning. Anno Mundi 5741, Anno Domini 1741.* Grand Lodge of Scotland, Edinburgh.

The day of elections in the case of this lodge was 12 November. In Lodge Canongate Kilwinning it was 24 June (St. John the Baptist's Day), at the same time of year as the annual meeting of the Musical Society.

MUSICAL AND SOCIAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN FREEMASONRY AND THE MUSICAL SOCIETY

Music was a part of every meeting of a Masonic lodge, whether for ceremonial purposes and the singing of hymns, or as part of the relaxation after business was finished. The minutes of several lodges show professional musicians as members; in the roll of Lodge Vernon Kilwinning for the years 1741-44, the names David McKenzie, John Reoch, John Stewart, John Thomson and Thomas Robison are listed and there are records of attendance or otherwise under dates of meetings. They were members of the lodge, and paid subscriptions. John Thomson, for example, is shown as having attended 11 meetings and paid dues at each in 1741-2, with 3 'excused' and 2 'absent'. John Stewart in the same period attended 8 meetings, had 5 'excused' and 3 'absent'. In the following year the records begin to be scanty, but they are important for their illustration of what was expected of members in the early days of non-operative lodges, i.e. attendance was recorded in writing and payment of dues was taken at each meeting.

John Thomson was an employee of the Musical Society from about 1740 until his death in 1781. He played the cello and sometimes the double bass, and was one of the most regular of their employees. After his death his widow was awarded a small yearly pension of £5 by the Society, a most unusual mark of appreciation. John Thomson is also listed in the roll of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1740, at the time when the minutes recorded the decision to admit musicians *gratis* if they were willing to play at meetings. He was made an entered apprentice (the first grade of membership) in November of that year on the same evening as John Palma, a music master in the town, who agreed to play at meetings without reward and to pay the usual dues.⁹ From this it can be seen that lodges were pleased to waive initial fees, in order to have the services of competent musicians for their

⁹ D.M. Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 1873, p. 190. This was a brother of Philip Palma (see Chapter 5).

gatherings 'to make Masonic conviviality as attractive as possible'.¹⁰ The fees of Lodge Vernon Kilwinning at this time were £1-6-0 to enter apprentice,¹¹ and although the sums varied from lodge to lodge, they may be presumed to have been broadly similar. Any large divergence would have contradicted the egalitarian ethic of the movement by making one lodge more financially attractive than another. The amount mentioned above was a large one by the standards of a working musician, being perhaps a month's salary.

When musicians were first admitted *gratis* to lodges they were treated like other full members. But after objections were made, in December 1741, they were deprived of a vote in lodge affairs.¹² It was not unusual to belong to more than one lodge, and the professional players were probably glad to be spared the expense of paying fees, while gaining the advantage of a platform for their work which could lead to other engagements.

Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, one of the oldest in Scotland after the Lodge of Edinburgh, had musician members. In the minutes for 2 March 1743 is the comment: 'This was wrote by me, Brother Francis Barsanti, for want of better business.'¹³ Barsanti is referred to in Chapter 5 as one of the earliest foreign musicians in the town. He published *A Collection of Old Scots Tunes* in 1742, and also composed and published sets of concerti grossi and overtures, which are to be found in the first Index of Music belonging to the Society (1765).¹⁴

This lodge dates from the time when the Canongate district was separate from the city of Edinburgh, and outside its walls. It took the name 'Kilwinning' as part of its title to signify its connection to the Mother Lodge of Scotland in Kilwinning, Ayrshire, rather than to any other in Edinburgh, in 1677. The minutes are preserved from 1735, showing the influential role taken by the lodge in the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland (the national organisation) in 1736, and the large number of members who held office both locally and nationally in the organisation. Many of these were also members of the Musical Society, and their

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 189.

¹¹ *The Book of Laws and Regulations ... Vernon Kilwinning*.

¹² Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

¹³ A. Mackenzie, *A History of the Lodge Canongate Kilwinning*, no. 2, 1888, p. 64.

¹⁴ McVeigh points out in 'Freemasonry and Musical Life' p. 73, that when Geminiani was given charge in 1725 of the musical society attached to the Queen's Head Lodge in London, one of the musicians he asked to play there was Barsanti.

names may be found in Appendix N.¹⁵ Particularly notable were George Drummond, James Boswell of Auchinleck and Henry Erskine, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, who were all Masters of the Lodge in 1764, 1773-5 and 1780 respectively.¹⁶ The membership of the lodge over the years of the eighteenth century was a roll-call of important and influential citizens.

The premises occupied by the lodge were, and still are, off the Canongate near the centre of the city, which made membership convenient for those who worked in this district. These included lawyers, advocates and judges who needed to be in attendance in Parliament Square a few hundred yards away, bankers and merchants who met in the Exchange opposite the Square, and members of the University whose rooms were on the site of what is now Old College. The room still used by the lodge was built for them in 1736, and is the oldest masonic building in continuous use in the world. Other lodges in Edinburgh moved their premises as circumstances dictated, but the stability enjoyed by Canongate Kilwinning and its closeness to the centre of affairs in the city must have been one of its attractions for the membership.

A strong link between the lodge and the Musical Society is provided by the presence in the lodge room of an organ made by the man who also made the one purchased by the Society, John Snetzler of London. Originally from Switzerland, Snetzler was working in London by 1742 and his biographers suggest that he was especially skilled in the making of small and portable instruments.¹⁷ He travelled to many parts of the country and in the minutes of the lodge for 18 September 1754 he is mentioned as being in Edinburgh on other work when the lodge approached him to provide an organ for their use. He offered to do this for £65-£70 and said that he would be returning to the city in 1755 to set up another of his instruments in a meeting house in Leith.¹⁸ It was however not until 1757 that the organ for the

¹⁵ Mr. Robert Cooper, Archivist of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, has pointed out in conversation that Lodge Canongate Kilwinning was much closer to the English (especially London) lodges than other Edinburgh lodges. Research into this connection and the presence in London of Scotsmen who were also masons and musicians would be of great interest.

¹⁶ Bro. A. F. Buchan, *Lodge Canongate Kilwinning no. 2 - a Historical Sketch*, pub. by the Lodge, no date.

¹⁷ A. Barnes & M. Renshaw, *The Life and Work of John Snetzler*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 7.

¹⁸ Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

lodge arrived by sea and cart in July, and it was set up on 4 August. Snetzler was paid £50 in August and £20 the following February.¹⁹

After the building of St. Cecilia's Hall for the Musical Society in 1762, the question of the purchase of an organ was raised, and it is probable that members common to the lodge and the Society used the success of the lodge's purchase to suggest that Snetzler be the supplier for the Society as well. His work was already known in Edinburgh before 1757, however, and it may also have been that his general reputation made him a natural first choice. He had supplied a single-manual organ to St. Andrew's Qualified Chapel in Carrubber's Close, Edinburgh, in 1747, and one of his other instruments, belonging to Mr. Thomas McPherson of Bell's Wynd, is recorded as having been used by the Musical Society from 1750-62.²⁰

The other lodge in the city with which the Musical Society had links of more than common membership was the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1. The Society hired the hall of this lodge for many years for its concerts, and was introduced to it because a prominent founding member and its first Governor, Alexander Bayne, was already using it as premises for his law classes.²¹ The hall was the leading place of public assembly by early in the eighteenth century, and its position near the High Street in Niddry's Wynd was at the centre of the fashionable residential area.²² The name of 'Mary's Chapel' came from its having been built on the place where Elizabeth, Countess of Ross, had built and endowed a chapel in 1504, dedicated to the Virgin Mary.²³ The Society used the hall until St. Cecilia's Hall at the other end of Niddry's Wynd was completed in 1762-3.

The choice of architect for the design of St. Cecilia's Hall shows another Masonic connection with the Musical Society. Robert Mylne was a member of a family which had for several generations before him held positions as Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland. The Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh in the mid-seventeenth century mention Robert Mylne, king's master mason,²⁴ and Thomas Mylne, a descendant, was admitted to the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721. His

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 84.

²⁰ D. A. Stewart, *Organs in Edinburgh*, Edinburgh Society of Organists, revised edition, 1991.

²¹ See the account in Chapter 2 of Alexander Bayne's governorship.

²² *The Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel), No. 1, 1599-1949*, published by the Lodge, p. 30.

²³ Ibid., p. 22.

²⁴ See Stevenson, *The First Freemasons*, p. 26, for a discussion of the court connections of non-operative members at this time, presaging later aristocratic membership.

eldest son Robert was entered apprentice there in January 1754, then raised (promoted) to the degree of master mason three months later.²⁵ He studied in Paris and in Rome from 1754-59, attracting interest from the court there of the Stuart princes.

As I know, my Lord, how much you interest yourself in whatever gives reputation to our country, I cannot but mention to you that Robert Mylne, from Edinburgh, received last week at the Capitol, in the presence of a number of Cardinals, the first prize for architecture... His drawings are a proof of his good taste and great knowledge of ancient architecture. He deserves the encouragement of his country.²⁶

On his return to Britain, Mylne won the competition for the design of Blackfriars Bridge in London, and was also given the task of designing the new concert hall for the Musical Society. There is no record in the Society's papers of how this was done, but it may be supposed that recommendations such as the one quoted above, along with previous contacts in the city, including the fact that he was a fellow-pupil with the Earl of Kellie at the High School,²⁷ made it easy. Kellie was at the time a Director of the Society, and from 1760-65 was Grand Master Mason of England. He was also Grand Master Mason of Scotland from 1763-65. It is worthy of note that after the establishment of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736, and during the years of the existence of the Musical Society (until 1800), 29 out of 42 Grand Master Masons of Scotland were members and sometimes office-bearers of the Society.²⁸

MUSIC AND PUBLIC CEREMONIES

Although the Masonic link with the building of St. Cecilia's Hall is very strong, there is no reason to suppose that the design of the hall itself was particularly representative of Masonic ideals of architecture.²⁹ There is also no

²⁵ Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

²⁶ Letter from Andrew Lumsden, Secretary to the Stuart princes 1750-70, to Lord George Murray, 26 September 1758, quoted in Rev. R. Scott Mylne, *The Master Masons of the Crown of Scotland and their Works*, 1893, p. 263.

²⁷ Farmer, 'Kellie', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 14 vols., Kassel, 1949-68.

²⁸ See the list at the end of Appendix N.

²⁹ I am grateful for the help of Mr. R. Cooper, Archivist, Grand Lodge of Scotland, Edinburgh, who kindly studied the plans of the hall.

public record of a ceremonial laying of the foundation stone of the Hall, nor is there any reference to such an event in the Minutes of the Society. This type of ceremony was most important to Freemasonry, and there are numerous references to the laying of stones for public buildings in Edinburgh, including the use of music in the procession and during the ceremony itself. The reason for there being no such event for St. Cecilia's Hall was probably that the building was commissioned and built by private subscription, for the use of a society and not the general public. The ceremonies referred to in the newspapers of the time and the minutes of the lodges were for buildings such as the Infirmary in 1738, the Royal Exchange in 1753, North Bridge (designed by William, the younger brother of Robert Mylne) in 1763, the Episcopal Chapel (now the Roman Catholic Church) in the Cowgate in 1771, the new High School building in 1777, and two important additions to the city late in the century: South Bridge in 1785 and the Old College of the University in 1789, which had a particular connection with the life of the Musical Society.³⁰

The information available regarding these ceremonies is varied, but whenever there is any detail given, music is mentioned. There was an approved order of participants in processions for the laying of foundation stones, recorded in Laurie's *History of Freemasonry and the Grand Lodge of Scotland*, but doubtless used before the date of this work.³¹ It provided for two bands of music and recommended that they be placed in a conspicuous situation. There follow titles of songs or instrumental pieces to be played at specific points in the ceremony. The only items specifically named were the anthem *Great Light to Shine*, to be sung during the lowering of the stone, and *Rule Britannia* after the Address.³² The services of professional musicians were clearly needed to ensure the success of these occasions, and it is likely that in Edinburgh the men who were employed by the Musical Society got extra work taking part in them.

The ceremony for the Infirmary took place on 2 August 1738, and the list of those invited to take part in the procession indicates how important a public occasion it was. It contained:

³⁰ W.A. Laurie, *History of Freemasonry and the Grand Lodge of Scotland*, 1859, pp. 102-141. See Chapter 7 for an account of the influence of these building projects on the Society.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 495-6.

³² McVeigh, 'Freemasonry and Musical Life', p. 83, mentions the use of the tune *Rule Britannia* to words of a masonic anthem, 'To Heaven's high Architect' at the laying of the foundation stone of the Freemasons' Hall in London in May 1775.

Masons (groups representing lodges)
Members of the College of Physicians
Members of the College of Surgeons
Lords of Session
Dean and Members of the Faculty of Advocates
Writers to the Signet
Members of Presbytery (of the Church of Scotland)
Members of Incorporations (trade organisations).

Members of the Musical Society who were not involved in the masonic part of the procession would have been present in other groups, as advocates, writers to the Signet and so on. There is no mention of music at this event other than a report of 'three clarions of the trumpet' at the laying of the stone, but on the occasion of the laying of the stone for the Royal Exchange, the procession is described as having three bands, two of French horns and one of hautboys, interspersed among the groups of lodges.³³ The account of the event includes unnamed anthems, which were sung at several points, such as at the lowering of the stone and at the concluding of the ceremony with prayer.

Details of the ceremony for the North Bridge are scanty, mentioning only 'a band of music' and 'a vocal and instrumental band'.³⁴ At the laying of the foundation stone of the Episcopal Chapel in 1771, there was no procession, as Grand Lodge was not involved, but the stone on that occasion was laid by Grand Master Mason, Lieutenant-General Adolphus Oughton, who had been elected to the Musical Society in 1767. He was a member of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, mentioned first in their minutes in 1754 as 'Past Grand Master of Minorca and the lodges there', and was present at the meeting in October of that year when the decision to ask Snetzler to build an organ for them was taken.³⁵

Information on the ceremonies for the High School and the South Bridge is similar to that for the North Bridge, but much more is known about that for the laying of the stone for the new University building, Old College. The procession

³³ Laurie, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³⁵ Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

and ceremony are described in detail in the first Chapter of *The Building of Old College*,³⁶ and there are several points of interest which concern the Musical Society.

The procession was a large one, involving the Council of the city, staff and students of the University led by Principal Robertson (a member of the Musical Society 1764-74), groups and office-bearers from the lodges and from Grand Lodge, and two separate bands of music, one 'a complete choir of singers, under the direction of Signor Schetky, singing anthems as the procession moved' and the other 'a complete band of instrumental music'.³⁷ The two bands were separated by the groups from the lodges, and it is interesting to speculate on how they performed. It is not known what music was played, or indeed whether both bands played the same pieces, but it is likely that the number of people between them was large, as many lodges were represented.³⁸ Co-ordination between the different groups would in any case have been difficult. In the minutes of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, there is a note of a request to the brethren to attend the ceremony, to which the lodge made a contribution of 9 guineas.³⁹ There is also the only reference in any records to an organised approach to the music: 'The Band of Music, Vocal and Instrumental, who were to assist at the Procession, were present and rehearsed the several anthems etc. to be sung on that occasion.'⁴⁰

Signor Schetky was Johann Schetky, employed by the Musical Society as a cellist.⁴¹ He was a member of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning. He was portrayed in the painting made by Stewart Watson to commemorate the lodge's awarding of the position of Poet Laureate to Robert Burns in 1787, two years previously. (The painting itself was not executed until 1846, and is discussed below.)

³⁶ A.G. Fraser, *The Building of Old College*, 1989. The original account of the event appeared in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. li, 11 November 1789.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁸ McVeigh, 'Freemasonry and Musical Life', p. 96, lists details of the music for the dedication ceremony of the new Freemasons' Hall in London in 1776, including two new anthems by John Abraham Fisher and Handel's anthem 'Zadok the Priest'. It is likely that the popularity of Handel's music meant that his works were used in Edinburgh ceremonial, although there is no written evidence of this.

³⁹ Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴¹ See Chapter 5 for an account of his employment.

FUNERAL CONCERTS

It is clear that the resources of the Musical Society were shared by the masonic lodges both because some members were professional musicians who wished to be freemasons, and because there were opportunities for free-lance work either in meetings or on special occasions. The funeral concert is another type of event which provides links with the Society, since both organisations used this form of commemoration to pay their last respects to a valued member. In the case of the freemasons, music was already a part of every meeting, and so its presence during what was sometimes referred to as a 'funeral lodge' was not remarkable. There are occasional mentions of such ceremonies in minute books, such as when a funeral lodge was held on 12 August 1771 for Alexander Alison, a prominent member of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning: "several solemn pieces of musick were performed proper and suitable to the mournful occasion of this meeting".⁴²

One programme of the music played at such a time survives in the minutes of the lodge concerned, Holyrood House (St. Luke's), no. 44. This lodge had a character different from those already referred to, which were much older. It was formed in 1734, and from its inception had only non-operative masons as members. Without a core of working masons it struggled to establish itself, and moved premises several times. It was not rich, and when they had a Master who changed their fortunes, the members appreciated his contribution. William Smith of Forret was their Master for twelve years, and when he died in 1785 his loss was keenly felt. The music for his funeral lodge was noted in the lodge minutes as follows:

Paraphrase 8 vv. 1,2,9. Tune *London*.
A funeral concerto.
Non nobis, Domine.
Dead March in *Saul*.
A composition for the occasion, tune *Lochaber*.
O Absalom, my son.
Paraphrase 4 vv. 1,4,5. Tune *Dundee*.
Resurrection Hymn.
A composite psalm in metre, tune *St. Mary's*.⁴³

⁴² Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁴³ R.S. Lindsay, *A History of the Mason Lodge of Holyrood House (St. Luke's), no. 44*, 1935, p. 213.

This selection bears interesting comparison with the programmes for the funeral concerts of prominent members of the Musical Society (see below). The names of the performers for this occasion were listed, and among them were Johann Schetky and John Aitken, members of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, and mentioned in Chapter 5.

It is impossible to judge whether the holding of funeral concerts for Musical Society members came directly from their knowledge of the custom of the lodges, but it is difficult to resist the thought that there was some influence from that direction. The deaths of Lord Drummore, George Drummond, Sir Robert Murray, William Douglas, the Earl of Kellie, Samuel Mitchelson and William Tytler were all marked by the Society with a concert, and some programmes have survived. The one held jointly in honour of William Douglas and Sir Robert Murray on 22 November 1771 was in three acts, as were all the Society's concerts, commencing with a Dead March by the Earl of Kellie, replacing that by Handel, which is scored out.⁴⁴ This was followed by an air by Jomelli, 'Vorrei dirti il mio dolore', and the Resurrection Hymn, also by Jomelli from his work *La Passione*. The second act had a Grand Adagio and Musette by Handel, his song 'Angels ever bright and fair' (*Theodora*) and an anthem for two voices by Croft ('Hear our prayer, O Lord!'). The last act contained Corelli's eighth concerto, op. 6, another air by Jomelli ('Dovunque il guardo giro', from *La Passione*) and the Handel chorus 'Mourn, all ye Muses' (*Acis and Galatea*).

R.A. Marr⁴⁵ lists some of the items played at the concert in memory of Lord Drummore on 27 June 1755. It included Handel's Dead March, 'Ye Sons of Israel' from *Samson*, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' (*Messiah*) and 'Mourn, ye afflicted' from *Judas Maccabaeus*. It is apparent from these items that the funeral concerts contained some of the music most popular among members. They reflect the predominance of Handel, and the eighth concerto of Corelli, op. 6, was also a favourite, as can be seen from the number of times it appears in the plan books.⁴⁶

The music in the funeral lodge shows a more religious preference, but there are similarities in the choice of Handel's Dead March and the Resurrection Hymn,

⁴⁴ The programme is handwritten on a sheet found at the end of vol. III of the EMS Minutes, but a printed version is in the Edinburgh Public Library ref. YML28 MS.

⁴⁵ Marr, *Music for the People*, p. xiii.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 4.

whose words were printed in the programme of the concert for Murray and Douglas. The second verse uses almost exactly the words used in 'I know that my Redeemer liveth'. The oratorio *La Passione* was performed three times by the Society in the three months following the funeral concert.⁴⁷

Four of the Musical Society members given funeral concerts were masons, Drummore entering Canongate Kilwinning in 1737. George Drummond was admitted to the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721 and was also a member of Canongate Kilwinning, its master in 1764 and Grand Master Mason of Scotland in 1752-3. Kellie and Mitchelson were members of Lodge St. Giles.

MUSICIANS IN LODGES

The minutes of Lodge Holyrood House have more references to musician members and to the use of music at meetings than any other.⁴⁸ On the occasion of the visit to the lodge on 3 January 1757 by Lord Aberdour, Grand Master Mason at the time, the assembled company "depended entirely for their music during the Degrees [ceremonies], and afterwards at the Harmony, upon violins, German flutes, oboes, French horns and vocal talent."⁴⁹ 'Harmony' was the name for any entertainment after the business of the lodge was adjourned, usually involving music, for example in Lodge Holyrood House, when "there was much instrumental music and songs to fill in the intervals between speeches."⁵⁰ There are records of musicians admitted *gratis* "to play to the lodge on any necessary occasion",⁵¹ and a particular mention of the number of musicians who joined this lodge.

Between 1756 and 1772 the music of the lodge during its working and after at Harmony was greatly strengthened by the accession of brothers Alexander Fyfe, George Tecklenburg, John Barnstaffe Rankerman, James Marine and Joseph Reinagle sen., who are all mentioned in the roll of members....In addition to them there were Robert Hutton, violinist, performer at St. Cecilia's Hall 1758....7 members of the 'Musick Band' of the 23rd (Royal Welch Fusiliers) 21 August 1767....John Aitken, precentor of St. Andrew's

⁴⁷ See Appendix I.

⁴⁸ The names of musicians employed by the Musical Society do not appear in the list of members of Masonic Lodges in Appendix N, because they were not members of the Society.

⁴⁹ Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Church, Anchor Close, honorary member from Canongate
Kilwinning, 18 December 1767.⁵²

Every name above was connected to the Musical Society, including the regimental players.⁵³ Alexander Fyfe was well known in the city for his performances on the musical glasses, and was entered *gratis* in Lodge St. David in 1758 'to serve the masons with tunes on the bells.'⁵⁴ He would be welcomed at the meeting of any other lodge, as would any brother, since one of the ideals of Freemasonry is that of hospitality. Visits of an official or friendly nature took place constantly between the lodges in the city, providing another platform for the musicians to let their work be heard by a large circle of people.

James Marine or Marin was a trumpeter employed for over twenty years by the Musical Society, who played also for the Canongate Playhouse orchestra. He was paid only a part-time salary by the Society because he was a Trumpeter of the Justiciary and Lyon Courts, as was Joseph Reinagle sen. whose career with the Society is referred to in Chapter 5. Both were members of Lodge Holyrood House.

The matter of what was sung or played during the rituals and afterwards at the 'Harmony' can only be guessed at from material which is known to have been in circulation at the time. From 1735 onwards, there were copies of masonic verses published in 'Pocket Companions' as additions to the masonic information such as a history, regulations and lists of lodges which these small books contained.⁵⁵ Some were printed in Edinburgh, and it is likely that the continuous availability of these books meant that the songs were commonly used by the lodges. The verses, all in praise of various aspects of Freemasonry, were sometimes given titles, such as 'The Master's Song' or 'The Fellow Craft's Song', but many of them had only numbers, and none had music. It is likely that the verses were sung to well-known tunes, and that the musicians in the lodge were responsible for choosing suitable melodies.

⁵² Ibid., p. 172.

⁵³ EMS Minutes, e. g. vol. III, p. 111. See Chapter 3 for employment of military musicians in the concerts.

⁵⁴ Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 645.

⁵⁵ L. Vibert, *The Rare Books of Freemasonry*, London, 1923, p. 20, where different editions of the 'Pocket Companion' are listed. The Library of the Grand Lodge of Scotland has in its possession several of the rarest, including a 3rd edition published in Edinburgh in 1772 by William Auld.

Difficulties sometimes arose from the free admission to lodges of musicians who then did not appear at meetings to fulfil their agreement to play. On 22 December 1773, Lodge Holyrood House, which had now changed its name to St. Luke's, noted down a very specific arrangement entered into with Charles Campbell, a piper who was admitted *gratis* on the following conditions:

to attend and entertain the lodge with music at their monthly meetings, beginning with December 1773, and likewise at the festivals of St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist and the grand festival of St. Andrew, when in town; under the penalty of 2/6 sterling for each of these nights I am absent; that is to say 6 months yearly for the 3 years subsequent to this, and the penalty to be forfeited for the use of the lodge - in witness whereof I subscribe this obligation at Edinburgh this 22nd day of Dec 1773 in presence of the brethren of the lodge of St. Luke.⁵⁶

This contract is a reminder of similar attempts made by the Musical Society to bind their employees to appear when expected.⁵⁷ None of the Society contracts which have survived, however, contains such detailed strictures on attendance.

From time to time in writings on the activities of musicians in the eighteenth century, the question of societies connecting music and Freemasonry has arisen.⁵⁸ No proof has yet been established regarding the Temple of Apollo in London, a group which included James Oswald and the Earl of Kellie. Before he moved to London in 1741 Oswald was a mason in Edinburgh,⁵⁹ and it is known that he set two masonic songs.⁶⁰ There are traces of an earlier society in London which was founded in 1725, but faded away by 1727. In a review of this society, 'Philomusicae et Architecturae Societas Apollini',⁶¹ R.F. Gould states that its aim was 'to fix and establish a Mutual Society of True Lovers of Music and Architecture', that Geminiani was asked to be the Director of all musical performances, and that he 'was esteemed the greatest violinist of his time, and a composer of great excellence'.⁶²

⁵⁶ Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁵⁷ See Chapter 4.

⁵⁸ E.g. Purser, *Scotland's Music*. See Chapter XIV on 'The Temple of Apollo.'

⁵⁹ Oswald belonged to Lodge Edinburgh from Dunfermline, so named because its members originated in Dunfermline.

⁶⁰ Purser, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁶¹ Transactions of *Annales Quatuor Coronatorum*, vol. xvi, 1903, 112-128.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 112. See also the reference above to McVeigh, 'Freemasonry and Musical Life', p. 73.

In 1754 some practising musicians in Edinburgh applied to the Grand Lodge for a charter to set up a lodge for musicians in the city.⁶³ Although it was agreed to issue the charter, without which no lodge could be established, in August 1755 the decision was reversed, and the lodge never emerged as viable. There have been no further attempts to create specialist lodges for musicians, and this is not surprising. The craft of Freemasonry has a close interest in music, as it does in building and architecture, but the idea of specificity in the membership of a lodge contradicts another of their great interests, the encouragement of equality and the welcoming of any and all brothers.

An interesting curiosity joining the Musical Society with Lodge Canongate Kilwinning is the painting mentioned briefly above, by W. Stewart Watson, of the occasion at a lodge meeting on 1 March 1787, when Robert Burns was allegedly made Poet-Laureate of the Lodge. The painting was done in 1846, which distances it more than a little from the occurrence it aimed to represent, but there may have been men still alive who could describe the event, and likenesses were available of the many well known participants to assist the artist. The painting hangs today in the Grand Lodge of Scotland Museum and Library. Burns had been admitted to Lodge St. David's, Tarbolton, Ayrshire, in 1781, and held the position of Deputy Master for some years.⁶⁴ On his arrival in Edinburgh on 28 November 1786 he quickly made contact with masonic friends, and on 7 December attended a meeting in Lodge Canongate Kilwinning. At the meeting on 1 February following, he may have been made what would now be termed an honorary member, but no mention is made in the minutes of his being awarded the title given in the painting.

The Right Worshipful Master, having observed that Brother Burns was at present in the Lodge, who is well known as a great Poetic Writer, and for a late [recent] publication of his works, which have been universally commended, and submitted that he should be assumed a member of this Lodge, which was unanimously agreed to, and he was assumed accordingly. Having spent the evening in a very Social, Affectionate and Brotherly manner, as the meetings of this Lodge always have been, it was adjourned till next Monthly Meeting.⁶⁵

The idea of Burns having received an 'official' acknowledgement of his new status as a famous poet so early in his visit to the capital must have been attractive

⁶³ Bro. K.S. Ryrie, *The Extinct Edinburgh Lodges*, Grand Lodge of Scotland Yearbook, 1978, p. 75.

⁶⁴ Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

to the members of the lodge, but it appears to have no basis in the proceedings of the meeting. That it was commemorated after more than fifty years in Stewart Watson's work indicates the powerful hold it had obtained on the imagination and the mythology of the lodge. Its interest today lies in the portrayal of the membership at a particular date, the number of men influential in the life of the city which it shows, many of whom were also members of the Musical Society, and the inclusion of a group of musicians as part of the composition.⁶⁶ The following paragraphs consider only those who had a connection with the Society. (The figures are grouped around principal office-bearers of the lodge.)

The Grand Master Mason of the time was Francis Charteris, Lord Elcho, a member of the Musical Society for many years, and his group in the painting includes Lord Torphichen, also a member of the Society from 1785, who was initiated into the Lodge on the evening of Burns' first visit. Near these two is James Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, member of the Society from 1778-84, and married to the sister of Henry Erskine, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. In the group round the Depute Master is Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, member of the Society from 1775-81, a banker and scientist, and the man who offered Burns a farm on his estates in the south-west of Scotland (Burns chose Ellisland). Sir John Whiteford, in the same group, knew Burns from Ayrshire, but at about this time had sold his estates and come to live in Edinburgh. He was a member of the Musical Society for many years.

In the Secretary's group is Lord Monboddo, a Lord of Session since 1767, and a member of the Society from 1755-58. He was a well known figure in the literary life of the city, and held suppers which Burns attended. He lived close to the Lodge room and very often attended meetings. Next to him is Henry Erskine, the lawyer, mentioned above (member of the Musical Society 1783-97). In the Treasurer's group is Fletcher Norton, Baron of Exchequer, a member of the Musical Society from 1776, and son of the then Speaker of the House of Commons. With him is Henry Mackenzie, the author and lawyer, and member of the Musical Society from 1771. Alexander Cunningham, a relative of Glencairn, is also in this group, and was a member of the Society from 1788.

⁶⁶ The identities of the men referred to are taken from *A Winter with Robert Burns - being annals of his patrons and associates in Edinburgh during the year 1786-7, with details of his inauguration as poet-laureate of the lodge Canongate Kilwinning*, a book produced by Brother J.M. in Edinburgh in 1846 to coincide with the first public display of Watson's painting.

William Creech the publisher is in a group beside the Chaplain. His shop in the High Street was the centre of literary activity in the city and Glencairn arranged the publication of Burns' poems by him. Creech also published the literary magazines *The Mirror* and *The Lounger*, edited by Henry Mackenzie. He was a member of the Musical Society from 1776.

In the Grand Treasurer's group (that is Treasurer to the Grand Lodge and not to Canongate Kilwinning) is James Hunter Blair, who held this appointment for many years and was one of the most prominent bankers and businessmen in the city.⁶⁷ He came originally from Ayrshire, and subscribed to many copies of Burns' poems. He was a member and constant supporter of the Musical Society from 1763 until his death at an early age in 1787. With him is James Boswell, biographer of Dr. Johnson and member of the Musical Society from 1769-71. He was an advocate and held many masonic posts, both in Lodge Canongate Kilwinning and in Grand Lodge. The surgeon Alexander Wood is also in this group. He was a member of the Society from 1777, and helped Burns obtain a job as an Excise officer.

The last group to consider is that of the musicians, some of whom do not appear in the records of the Musical Society as employees. Those who do are Girolamo Stabilini, who from 1784 led the Society's orchestra, Domenico Corri, who with his wife was employed by the Society from 1771, Stephen Clark, organist of the Cowgate Chapel and a performer in the Society's concerts from 1769, and Johann Schetky, cellist and composer. He is the only one of this group who was known to have been a mason. Clark worked very closely with Burns on the Scots tunes which Burns was collecting for publication by James Johnson in what became the six volumes of *The Scots Musical Museum*.⁶⁸

It is clear from the persons in this and the other groups that in what may be an entirely imagined gathering (not as to the meeting itself, but as to the people involved), even at such a distance in time, Stewart Watson included appropriate men. From the point of view both of the Lodge as an organisation and of its standing in the city, the painting gives a powerful idea of what it was like to be in that social milieu in 1787, and the strength of the welcome offered to Burns. It also

⁶⁷ See Chapter 7 for an account of his involvement in the building of South Bridge, and Chapter 2, the section on Sir William Forbes, for his banking links with the Society.

⁶⁸ Purser, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

points out the myriad connections existing not only between different subsections of a society, but between individuals in that society. There are links formed by Freemasonry, music, marriage, literary interests, neighbourhood and doubtless more. Whether the event it commemorates actually took place is in the end less important than the portrayal which it offers of the most influential men in the city, in an unusual social setting combining all the above links.

The connection between Freemasonry and the Musical Society in Edinburgh is closer than that of the Society with any other club or society of the time. Apart from the links just mentioned, there was the circumstance that no other organisation used music. The theatre employed musicians, but was a purely commercial venture. For the Musical Society, the making of music was of course its chief end, for both commercial and cultural purposes. The lodges needed music to help celebrate their rituals and to assist in the 'Harmony' afterwards, and in a city where there were professional players of a high standard it made sense to obtain their services for the betterment of the ceremonies. The players could either take payment for their work on a businesslike level, or become interested in the social and philosophical environment of Freemasonry. The lodges provided a place where musicians could make valuable contacts outside their work for the Musical Society, and where they could play music of a kind different from the concert programmes, particularly in the entertainment after a lodge meeting.

Aside from their being employers of the same personnel, the social links between the lodges and the Musical Society are clear from the common membership. The compact size of Edinburgh made it inevitable that most organisations would have members in common with each other, but the sharing of music took place only between these two. Its appeal to the mason as 'an activity combining intellectual rewards with practical enjoyment, in a spirit of fraternity'⁶⁹ was close to the ideals of the philosopher Hutcheson (see Chapter 1), and the members of the Musical Society would have shared in those feelings. The Society had been formed for the practical as well as artistic enjoyment of the members, and those in particular who played instruments epitomised the aims of the Society, which here seem to have been very close to those of Freemasonry.

⁶⁹ McVeigh, 'Freemasonry and Musical Life', p. 73.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LAST YEARS OF THE SOCIETY

Writers have ascribed the demise of the Edinburgh Musical Society to various causes. W. Forbes Gray rightly refers to the financial difficulties of the years after the mid-1770s, and also to the move of fashionable audiences to the new Assembly Halls in George Street when these were opened in 1787.¹ Deborah Howard concentrates on the changes in Niddry's Wynd after the building of South Bridge.² David Johnson refers fleetingly to social change, but, like Gray, places the principal blame for the closure on financial problems.³ Burchell agrees that the primary difficulty was money, and argues that the Directors running the Society in the final years were not as competent as those who were in charge in the flourishing years of the 1760s and early 1770s.⁴

THE BUILDING OF SOUTH BRIDGE

One of the main influences on the life of the Society in the years from 1785 onwards was the decision of the Town Council to expand the limits of the town to the south. The geography of the area necessitated an expensive bridge over the Cowgate, the street close to where St. Cecilia's Hall was situated. When James Hunter Blair became Lord Provost in 1784, the scheme was carried forward because he was convinced that the opportunity to link this project with others to improve the southern approaches to the city centre, and to obtain support for plans to improve the university area, was too important to lose.⁵ His scheme was accepted because it could be implemented with no cost to the city. It is perhaps ironic that two of the men most closely identified with the carrying out of plans for the changes in the layout of central Edinburgh, George Drummond for his promotion of the first steps in creating the New Town, and James Hunter Blair for his continuation of the process in the building of South Bridge, were longstanding

¹ Forbes Gray, 'Musical Society', pp. 239-240.

² Howard, 'St. Cecilia's Hall', p. 46.

³ Johnson, *Music and Society*, p. 40.

⁴ Burchell, 'Polite or Commercial Concerts?', pp. 51-55.

⁵ Fraser, *The Building of Old College*, p. 58.

members of the Musical Society. They were ultimately influential in the fate of the Society's own concert hall and in the decline in audiences for the Society's concerts.

The construction of the bridge entailed the demolishing of many buildings in Niddry's Wynd, and St. Cecilia's Hall escaped only because its frontage was set back from the line of the street. When the new line was established, the hall lost its courtyard at the front entrance, and looked out on to the foundations of one of the arches of South Bridge. Forbes Gray wrote:

The demolition of the projecting houses had another effect. It exposed to view for the first time the *whole* of the west front of St. Cecilia's Hall, an alteration never contemplated by Robert Mylne, who, on the assumption that it would be hidden, finished off this portion of the structure in a rough style.⁶

Fraser, in his account of the building of the bridge, says that the Bridge Trustees, the body in charge of the work, had thought of demolishing the Hall, but decided against it on financial grounds.⁷ The first mention of the subject in the Musical Society minutes was made on 29 June 1787:

[The Directors] desire Mr. Innes to converse with John Young⁸ anent an Entry to the Hall by the Cowgate and that Mr. Young shall give in some plan of the mode of doing it betwixt [now] and Wednesday, when it is meant to converse with the Trustees for the new Bridge on the Subject of an Equivalent to be given for the Area of the Musical Society now occupied by the new street leading from the Cowgate to the High Street.⁹

While the construction work was proceeding, the environs of the Hall would have been unpleasant, and entries in the accounts for the period May to November 1787 show that the concerts were held in the Assembly Rooms:

May 29 By advertising to discontinue the Concert on acco[un]t of taking down the Buildings near the Hall 12/-

June 12 By advertising the Concert to begin 15th June in the new Assembly rooms 12/-

⁶ Forbes Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁷ Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁸ John Young was one of several local architects involved in a dispute between Robert Adam and James Hunter Blair as to whose plans were ultimately to be approved for the bridge. (Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 77.)

⁹ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 76.

By two men carrying 6 machine lifts with instruments etc.
from the Concert hall to the Assembly rooms in Geo. Street
4/-¹⁰

By a porter for removing the Benches in the Assembly rooms
from small to Great room in Race week 1/-

By Carriage of Mr. Clark's pianoforte 5 times to Assembly
rooms 5/-¹¹

The Society was holding concerts again in the Hall by 21 February 1788,¹²
but the question of compensation for the lost land continued for some time. At the
anniversary meeting on 27 June 1788, it was resolved that:

a memorial should be drawn up and presented to the
Trustees for the South Bridge stating the inconveniences and
expences this Society have been put to by the improvements
carrying on, praying indemnification of that expence, or at
least that they will dispose to this society, the area to the east
of the Concert Room in the Cowgate as the only means by
which a tolerable entry to St. Cecilia's Hall can be obtained.¹³

Nothing had been done regarding the query to the architect John Young if, as seems
clear from the above, the matter of the entry was still being discussed. A letter to
the Directors of the Society from James Hunter Blair in his capacity as one of the
Trustees as early as 4 August 1786 had warned the society that the area in front of
the Hall would disappear.¹⁴ It might therefore be thought that those in charge of the
society's affairs had been lax in their forward planning, since they were aware of
the effect that the plan for the bridge would have on the Hall. The minute of 12
December 1788 resolved:

To apply to the Trustees of the Bridge to get if posible [sic] 6
additional Lamps from the Commissioner of Lamps, to have
3 Lamps every Friday on the stair to the Bridge, opposite to
the Hall door.¹⁵

This indicates that the concert audience was using a flight of open stairs from the
level of the road on South Bridge to get to the entrance of the Hall, rather than come
down the narrowed street. Carriages, which had become more common and which
to a large extent replaced sedan chairs, were unable to get down the street to the

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 74.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 82.

¹² Ibid., p. 88.

¹³ Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁴ GD113/4/164/61.

¹⁵ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 97.

Hall, and so it is likely that they stopped on the much more spacious road above, which was now in use.¹⁶

The only other reference in the Minutes of the Society to the bridge and its attendant problems was made on 7 August 1789, in a request to Mr. Tytler senior to prepare a memorial to the Trustees 'on the business of the Society'. Whether this was to be the one suggested in the previous year or a second one is not clear, and there is no record of the wording of it. However, the matter was still being pursued in 1791, when an undated memo from Sir William Forbes, Deputy Governor of the Society, to a meeting of the Directors which he was unable to attend, gives an idea of the situation at the time:

At the last meeting of the Trustees of the South Bridge, he [Sir William] strongly requested them to get Niddry's Wynd put in order as well as the Area between the Hall & the Cowgate & the Trustees committed the Care of doing it to Mr. Brown & Mr. Jamieson.

He has not Since had an Opportunity of seeing whether those Gentlemen have yet set about the work --- If they have not, he humbly suggests to the Directors, whether it would not be best that they give orders themselves to a tradesman to put the Area to the Cowgate into decent order, as it must of necessity be done before the Concerts begin; & if left to Mr. Brown & Mr. Jamieson, may be too long delay'd, & not be ready in proper time.

The expence of it may be added to the Claim which the Musical Society have on the Trustees of the Bridge for the necessary repairs, in consequence of the pulling down the Buildings: & whenever Sir Wm. is furnished by the Directors with a Memorial & Claim, he will lay it before the Trustees, & enforce it all he can.

He was suggesting lately to Mr. Innes, that many Ladies have said a Slight, temporary Portico will be a very great advantage at the Coach-door to the Cowgate; without which it will scarcely be possible for Ladies to get into the Hall in a Wet Night without Suffering much. He is persuaded it will cost but a trifle. & really thinks it should be ordered immediately even altho the Directors Should [sic] afterwards think it necessary to put up a better & more permanent Portico. A temporary one will serve for an experiment to show its utility.¹⁷

¹⁶ Howard, *op. cit.* p. 47.

¹⁷ GD113/4/164/74.

Whatever measures the Society had taken in the preceding two years had evidently had no good result for the surroundings of the Hall, as the above makes clear that both the original entrance-way, Niddry's Wynd, and a 'coach-door' on the Cowgate side of the building, were not fit for use. A private letter from one of the Directors, John Russell, to Gilbert Innes in October 1788, presaged exactly the problems which Sir William was trying to persuade the Society to address.¹⁸ Russell wrote from London, where he had been ordering a new harpsichord and looking for a singer, to endorse the idea of paving, enclosing and covering the area to the Cowgate. He urged Innes to:

take as active a part as possible in the whole of this business [i.e. the tidying of the grounds for the start of the new concert season], on our success in which I am much afraid our existence as a Musical Society but too much depends.

The Society was eventually given the land which it requested, fronting the Cowgate and at the eastern side of the Hall, but not until December 1797.¹⁹ This lengthy delay meant that they were therefore not able to improve the outside appearance of the Hall as they would have liked to do. The growth of the New Town, the shift of the wealthier families to that side of the town and especially the opening of the Assembly Rooms in George Street in 1787 as a new venue for musical events in the city, all meant that it became more difficult for the Directors of the Society to attract the audiences to which they had been accustomed.

There was no falling off of membership, even in the very last years, as is shown by a list of candidates for election in February 1796, which contains 18 names, all of whom were elected.²⁰ This may indicate a quicker turnover of members than was usual in previous years, however, and this would have had an influence on the way the Musical Society was regarded in its social circle. If change in membership was more rapid than before, then there would have been less solid commitment to the aims of the Society.

There is a list of candidates for election in 1792, on which can be seen the result of a change in the expression of voting preferences which had been set up in the previous year.²¹ On 10 March 1791 a printed notice was prepared for

¹⁸ GD113/4/158/332.

¹⁹ Minutes of the Trustees of the South Bridge (Edinburgh City Archives), a minute dated 4 December 1797.

²⁰ GD113/5/408/39.

²¹ GD113/4/164/78.

consideration at a meeting on the following Wednesday, 16 March, suggesting that votes for a candidate be made with a cross beside the name, votes against with a line through the name.²² Names against which there was no objection were to be left without a mark. A candidate was not to be admitted if the votes to reject were more than one third of the votes to accept. The list for the February 1792 election is annotated by hand with the votes for and against each name, and was probably a teller's copy, likely to have belonged to Gilbert Innes himself, since he was a Director at the time. There were very few actual votes to reject candidates, and so those with the largest numbers of votes in their favour were admitted. There is no indication in the Society papers of the time of a reason for the voting change. The new system might have been supposed to provide more refinement in the choice of the voters, as it gave them more alternatives to use, but in practice as negative votes were uncommon the Directors had no more guidance than before.

The effect of the building of South Bridge on the Society's premises illustrates in microcosm what was happening all over the old part of Edinburgh, as the middle and upper classes were able to appreciate the more gracious style of living possible away from the narrow lanes and crowded accommodation of the area round the High Street. A.J. Youngson has compared the addresses of lawyers and city councillors in the years 1775-6 and again in the late 1780s, showing that there was a marked shift in that time to the New Town.²³ He also comments that the hope expressed in the pamphlet of 1752²⁴ (which first proposed the expansion of the town) that people of rank might come to Edinburgh was amply realised, and that with an increase in population, fashionable amusements multiplied.²⁵ They did so in the area of new development and the Old Town was unable to compete. 'People now [after 1800] lived in Edinburgh who were rarely seen in the High Street – a thing unthinkable forty years before.'²⁶ To the physical inconvenience of the approach to St. Cecilia's Hall was added the moving away of the current of fashionable life. The ways in which the directors tried to combat this trend are discussed below.

²² GD113/4/164/123.

²³ Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, pp. 227-8.

²⁴ *Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh*, written by Sir Gilbert Elliott with Sir George Drummond, quoted in Youngson, p. 3.

²⁵ Youngson, p. 237.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

THE INFLUENCE OF WILLIAM TYTLER

The Directors had to think of ways of attracting the audiences they wanted to the concerts, and in August 1789 a minute notes:

... endeavour to prevail upon Ladies of fashion to honor the Concert as a place of fashionable amusement.²⁷

This is the same minute in which William Tytler was asked to write to the South Bridge Trustees, so it is possibly from this reference that there arose a paper to be presented to the June 1790 meeting of the Directors, which is not signed but which is in Tytler's handwriting.²⁸

As the Weekly Concerts have not been as usuall frequented by the Ladies, It is proposed to make the following alterations in the Plan of the Concert...

2. That the Ladies shall be admitted only once a fortnight, for which purpose the Number of Ladies Tickets to be given out shall be limited to 100...

5. The nights when no Ladies are admitted shall be considered as Practising nights, when the pieces to be put in the Plan of the Ensuing Ladies Concerts, shall be Rehearsed, And any New Music that comes out, may then be regularly p[l]aid over, & such pieces as are good, distinguished from the bad, and markt accordingly; By which Method we shall have a selection of Good Music, from which the plans may at all times be made.

6. As in the most celebrated Musicall Meetings in London, Tea is always given between the Acts, the Company may adjourn to a Tea Room, to be fitted up for that purpose

For defraying this Additional Expence, It is proposed that an additionall half a guinea shall be added to the present Subscription of each member...

If the Scheme shall be agreed to It is presumed that a New Spirit may be infused into the Concerts.

This document contains several pointers to the authorship of Tytler: the reference to more practice, and the implication that any new music must be carefully inspected, as well as the willingness to imitate what happened in London, and the desire for a 'New Spirit' in the Society. In letters of his which have been preserved in the Innes of Stow collection, these themes recur, for example in November 1791, when he

²⁷ Ibid., p. 110.

²⁸ GD113/4/164/217.

wrote encouraging Innes to keep looking for a singer in London, and reporting on the state of the Concert:

It was enjoined [on] Mr. Stabilini by order of the Directors, to have practices with his Troops, who he had let go out of all order, and to select and make them proficient in playing some of the best of the New Music, Haydn, Playill [Pleyel] of w[hi]ch there are severall good pieces, leaving out the trash;²⁹

He had been a Director of the Society for forty years in 1789, and must have been in the position of elder statesman, with a considerable influence on the measures which were considered necessary to bring the concerts back to public popularity. In his 1790 memo he went on to set out his views on how the audience should be regulated:

At present the Admission of Ladies without Choice or Restriction Makes the Weekly Concerts too cheap, & on that Account Neglected. Once a Week too, seems too often for Ladies Concerts. Any Lady of fashion will think it no trouble to send her name to a Gentleman Member for a Ticket, & which is to serve for one night only. By this a more select Company may be expected.

In the Ordinary Nights, None but the Gentlemen who are Members, may be admitted, excepting such Gentlemen as are qualified and willing to assist the Orchestra. On these Ordinary Nights, Not only the Instrumental Music is to be rehearsed, but likewise the pieces of Vocall Music, particularly Duets and Chorus's, By which Oratorios, 2 or 3 through the Winter may be got up, and occasionally performed.

As there are severall Young Gentlemen Not Members who perform on different instruments who attend the Concert without performing These Gentlemen may be admitted upon Performers Tickets only – And as the Ordinary Nights when no Ladies are admitted will be under less ceremony, Many Members who formerly used to perform may now be induced to Join the Orchestra, by which means the Gentlemans Concert may again be brought to its original distinguished Establishment.

There are several elements in this paper which are worthy of note. The writer was a long-serving member of the committee of the Society, and his efforts were clearly directed more towards restoring its former customs than to bringing it up to date with contemporary fashionable musical happenings. At a time near the end of the eighteenth century when leisure activities of a cultural nature were

²⁹ GD113/4/164/148.

becoming more and more accessible (and desirable) to a wider spectrum of society, he showed in his strictures on the frequency and ease of Ladies' admission to the Concerts that he was at least personally unwilling to accept that habits were changing, and that the social class of the potential audience might be more mixed than before. He was conscious of the falling-off of performance by the members themselves, and wanted more of them to play, even if they were not strictly speaking proper members. He also wanted to encourage more performances of oratorios, which had been one of the main activities of the Society in its earlier days and had declined strikingly from four or five a year in the 1750s when he was first an active member himself, to one or perhaps two in later years.

It is probable that in the situation of Tytler can be seen the state of the Society as a whole – that he was stalwart in his support of the Society, but that he was not willing to acknowledge the need for radical reappraisal of its position. His solutions for the problems of 1790 were to go back to the way the Society had functioned fifty years before. The decline in performance by members was not a recent difficulty, having been held to blame by the Treasurer in January 1777 for the financial problems he was at the time trying to solve.³⁰ Reasons for the reduction in oratorio performance are more difficult to deduce, since nothing was written in the Minutes to explain the low number of such performances in any year, but they may be connected to the opening up of ordinary concerts to ladies, and to the reasons discussed in Chapter 4. The custom of the St. Cecilia's Concert was always continued, but it was sometimes the only separate concert mentioned in the accounts,³¹ and therefore the only large public concert of the year. Tytler's most heartfelt plea is contained in the last lines of his memo, when his yearning for the past is most obvious. The principles on which the Society was originally based had, in his view, been allowed to lapse, and his own instinct was to try to recapture them. The success of the concerts in the previous years was the undoing of these principles, because public taste and inclination, and the need for funds to support success, had all changed the Society's direction.

Credit must be given, however, for his moderate encouragement of new music, the mention of oratorios and the idea of tea rooms. The Society was attempting to put on a performance of *Messiah* on 19 February 1790, for which they

³⁰ EMS Minutes, vol. III, p. 117.

³¹ See e.g. the accounts for 1783-4, EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 35.

recruited singers from Durham Cathedral. A letter from Gilbert Innes to Thomas Ebdon, choirmaster of the Cathedral, asked for a counter-tenor, a bass and two trebles, and said that the Society would pay a total of 50 guineas.³² The singers were also to appear in a concert of mixed choral items on the Friday before the oratorio, and would have to bring with them any pieces which were not by Handel.

Our chorus singers are very bad, but our instrumental performers will execute their part very properly, and your acquaintance Mr. Clark³³ is organist. The organ is tolerable and equal to the room.

A reply from Ebdon accepted the terms, which he said were liberal, and said the counter-tenor knew all the solos.³⁴ Another letter on 7 February from Ebdon acknowledged a change to the mixed programme, but said that the singers knew the new items. The concerts appear to have taken place, but from the accounts the work given on the date in February was *Acis and Galatea*, not *Messiah*.³⁵ There were 334 Ladies' Tickets sold for it, so that it must have been successful. A final letter from Ebdon to Innes dated 1 March cast a slight cloud over the event, however, apologising for unspecified bad conduct on the part of the counter-tenor.³⁶ It is significant that this was the last concert of its type to be mentioned in the accounts of the Society. Where money gained from oratorios had until this time appeared whenever appropriate in the 'Charge' columns of the yearly accounts, all entries following this date concerned subscriptions and arrears, along with the credits from the bank, apart from one contribution received from a concert by Madame Sestini.³⁷ (This was probably a concert put on by the singer herself, when the premises had to be paid for.) There are no further Society receipts of income for Ladies' nights or for St. Cecilia's Day concerts.

So the tradition of the oratorio as produced by the Musical Society, so enthusiastically supported by William Tytler and those who went before him, died finally in 1790. This was an important source of income to the Society for much of its life, and its loss had an effect on the already troubled state of its finances. But it must also have affected the Society's view of itself, since it had for so long had the monopoly of presentation of such works, in particular those of Handel, which had

³² GD113/4/164/104.

³³ Stephen Clark, employee of the Society, who had come to Edinburgh from Durham Cathedral.

³⁴ GD113/4/159/97.

³⁵ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 113.

³⁶ GD113/4/159/132.

³⁷ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 134, concert in February 1792.

been given their first performances in Scotland in St. Cecilia's Hall, and in the Society's previous hall as well.³⁸ The relationship with oratorio as a musical form which the members particularly enjoyed dated from the early days of the Society, the first specific mention being of a performance of *Saul* on 22 November 1749.³⁹

Although this aspect of the Society's activities was abandoned, other attempts were continued to implement some of the suggestions made by Tytler. He produced a second list of recommendations entitled 'Hints with respect to the Gentlemen's Concert', probably in 1791 before the Directors' Meeting of 8 August of that year, when a minute agreed:

to a proposed plan for appointing a certain number of Ladies as Patronesses or Directresses of the Musical Society.⁴⁰

The minute is short, unlike the substantial number of measures contained in the proposal.⁴¹ The preamble said:

As many incidents have concurred to the decline of the concerts of late, the following hints in order to remedy and remove some of the obvious causes of this decline are suggested.

The first two points were concerned with the situation in Niddry's Wynd, and the planned entry from the Cowgate. Tytler then continued:

3. The management of the Orchestra has relaxed. Plans of the Weekly Concert Music have not been followed or performed by the Masters. The Masters absent themselves without leave. To remedy this, suggested that one of the Directors by turn shall take the management of the Orchestra for a month, Regulate the music, Masters etc., and apply the Regulations as to Absentees etc.

4. The ladies do not resort to the weekly concerts. To bring these into Fashion suggested to the Directors to have their thoughts of 6 Musical Ladies of Fashion as Patronesses of the Concert. Each a month by turn. To bring a certain number in their company to the weekly concert. To wear a gold badge - to think of other marks of distinction by way of Privilege. [Directresses of the dancing assemblies wore a badge.⁴²]

5. It has been complained of that the general run of Gentlemen who are admitted by the Directors on tickets to

³⁸ See Appendix J - the list of oratorios performed.

³⁹ GD113/5/208/3/23 - the bill for copying the parts.

⁴⁰ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 128.

⁴¹ GD113/4/164/122.

⁴² Arnot, *History*, p. 293.

the Weekly Concerts, are not the most Fashionable. Suggested - that the Directors shall give up the above privilege of giving tickets and in its place that each of the members shall be empowered to give 2 Gentlemen's Tickets for admittance to the ordinary weekly concerts. And the Directors are to consider How ladies (besides those who come in the suite of the Lady Patronesses) are to be admitted to the weekly concerts.

Also to Consider of ways and means to Review that principal part of the original Institution from which it takes its name of the Gentlemen's Concert, that is for the Gentlemen to take a part in the Orchestra. One thing is suggested, that Gentlemen performers shall have the privilege of admittance to every weekly concert. Suggested that some favourable occasion should be seized for a subscription adding a Tea Room to our Hall. And for the weekly Expenditure of giving Tea, That the annual subscription may be raised half a guinea.

Several of the points raised in the document were carried over from his previous recommendations, which seems to show that none had been put into practice in the interim. The comments regarding gentlemen players, the state of the orchestra, the anxiety about the quality of those admitted, and the idea of the tea rooms had all been mooted before. An indication of the dilemma in which members, especially older members such as Tytler, found themselves, is given in the attitude taken towards ladies. On the one hand they were seen as a vital part of an increased audience, and (from the above) as a fashionable influence. On the other hand, no real involvement in the workings of the Society was ever considered for them, no offer of membership or even of association, except as the vaguely named 'Patronesses or Directresses'. It was never considered that ladies might actually become paying subscribers to the Society, and although today's critics might see this as a loss of revenue and support, it is not a surprising stance at the end of the eighteenth century. The 'men's club' mentality which had been the norm for the previous seventy years was unlikely to change swiftly enough for the Society to be saved at this juncture, and Tytler's ideas were perhaps thought to be sufficiently radical in themselves.

The tea rooms were instituted, as reported in Tytler's correspondence with Innes. On 1 February 1792 he said in the course of a discussion about singers that the Tea Rooms had opened ten days before to 'a very good company.'⁴³ He added in a letter of 24 February that the first concert with the new rooms had had about

⁴³ GD113/4/159/327.

fifty ladies, and the next two were 'brilliant, with over 100, all of the first fashion.'⁴⁴ This did not last, unfortunately, as a minute of 1 December 1792 shows:

Resolved to dismiss the Tea and suspend the Directresses.⁴⁵

This was decided at the same meeting as the recording of Tytler's death, and the setting of his funeral concert for the end of January or the first Friday of February, 1793.

It is perhaps only coincidental that two of Tytler's ideas for the promotion of the concerts should have been abandoned as soon as he was no longer there to supervise them. It is tempting to think, however, that his strength of personality was the only force behind them, and interesting to note that the only attempt in the life of the Society to change the way in which Directors were elected should have occurred shortly before his death. In July 1792, there was a proposal made for the consideration of the General Meeting of the next year that in future the senior Director 'should go out by rotation annually and another be elected in his stead'.⁴⁶ At the time of this proposal, Tytler was the senior Director by some way, having served for forty three years. It is possible that this might have been the start of an attempt to have him dislodged from his entrenched position. It is obvious from his letters that he defended opinions which were by his own admission out of date. In the letter of 1 February 1792 referred to above, he said of singers trained in England:

I don't like their manner, it is too English for me and the choice of their songs very bad.

He suggested that Innes listen instead to Signora Corri again (a reversion to the Italian tradition which had endured for most of the century), and also wanted Innes to find someone, even a second-rate singer, to lead the oratorio 'to revive the spirit of music.' Later in the same letter he looked forward to hearing the new Haydn concerto :

a fine harmoniser, his modulation always new and inventive, but too extravagant, wild and capricious for my plain Tast[e]. His pieces for the London Tast[e] I dare say will be choice.

⁴⁴ GD113/4/159/341.

⁴⁵ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 144.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 138.

In the letter of 24 February he reported on his experience of the new Haydn work, this time referred to as an overture.⁴⁷ He took no pleasure in it ('so disjointed and destitute of subject'), and talked of 'my immodish Taste.' His suspicion of some new music has already been referred to, and in his letter of 3 November 1791, he continues, after his comments on 'trash' and his complaints about the laziness of the players, to show that he was possibly not on good terms with the orchestra's leader, Stabilini.

Many good symphonies there are in the compositions of Baach [sic], Abel, Borgi, Boccherini, etc. which I think Stabilini seldom chuses to play. I recommended these practisings to him and Schetky in the beginning of the vacation. I wish you to put them in mind and for variety I recommended to Stabilini some of the Old Music, particularly the 2 and 3 opera's of Geminiani.

Fraser Harris has pointed out that Stabilini's attitude to 'the Old Music' was not favourable, and Tytler would have been aware of his expressed dislike of Corelli.

From all the foregoing it would seem that Tytler was a man of fixed and old-fashioned ideas, whose influence in the Society was holding it back. It would also seem, at least from the evidence of the records that remain, that no other members came forward at this time with suggestions which might have been more acceptable to the majority for the changes which had to be made to keep the Society viable, and that lack of a coherent forward-looking policy hastened its end. Tytler's devotion to the Society concerts as the only source of orchestral music in the city denied the undoubted fact that some of the Society's employees were finding it easier to obtain work elsewhere. They may have agreed with Stabilini's dislike of the older music, but for whatever reason, in its efforts to maintain the concerts from the late 1780s, the Society was finding it difficult to keep its musicians in order. A minute of 27 June 1788 ordered:

that Mr. Watlen keep a book in which he shall regularly enter the names of such of the Band as are absent, are late in coming in, or go away before the concert is over: and Mr. Sanderson is authorised from that Book to deduct 5/- for each absence & 2/6 for each late entrance or going away from the different performers when their salaries are paid.⁴⁸

There is no immediate sign in the accounts that fines were levied, so perhaps the threat had an influence for a while. But by 1791 several players, Alexander Napier

⁴⁷ This was possibly either Symphony no. 88 or no. 89, both of which were published in London in 1789 (Hoboken, vol. I, pp. 160-162).

⁴⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 90.

and Nathaniel Gow among them⁴⁹, were fined amounts which in some cases were as much as half their salary, and they continued to offend for the remaining years of their engagement. They were finding work in other concerts, for example at the new Assembly Rooms in the New Town, and absenting themselves on the nights which had been strictly reserved in the town for the Society alone, an indication that more entertainment than before was available to the public, and more opportunities for employment to the musicians.⁵⁰

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

Lack of resources was not a new situation for the Musical Society, but coupled with other problems such as the changes in public taste and the movement of fashionable people to the New Town, the cost of upkeep of their Hall, the escalating salaries of well-known singers, and the inability to depend on the musicians turning up for the concerts, the precarious monetary state of the Society was only made worse by the increasing number of subscriptions which were not being paid. In the 1780s this was not a real problem, as only one or two were noted each year, and usually made up in the next accounts.⁵¹ In June 1789, however, seven subscriptions had not been paid,⁵² in the following December ten were not paid,⁵³ and in June 1790 the number was up to 14.⁵⁴ In January 1793 the amount in the accounts beside 'By list of vacancies members not pd.' was 18 guineas (nine members). By June 1794 it was £21 and in July 1795, the date of the last full set of accounts in the Minute Book, it had risen to an alarming £54-12-0. This represented the subscriptions of 26 members which had been included in the opening statement of the accounts (200 members at 2 guineas each).

The loss of such a large amount of money was a blow to their efforts to keep in their employ Giolivetti at £200 per year, Stabilini at £100, Urbani at 50 guineas, Schetky at £50. There were also nine members of the orchestra to be paid and a special payment of £10 was made to Mr. Mahon the clarinettist (presumably for a

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 131.

⁵⁰ This thesis has not included surveys of the growing opportunities for musicians in the city from theatrical or other concert work, as the gathering of such material is outside its scope.

⁵¹ E.g. EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 41, 'Mr. Crosbie's arrears in Decr. last.'

⁵² Ibid., p. 102.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 108.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 116.

concert appearance). The whole subscription income was taken up by the sums for the principal artists, and no leeway was left for ordinary expenses such as the caretaker's salary, tuning the organ, payment to choristers for a funeral concert, a plumbing bill, and payment of tax and poor money.⁵⁵ The Society could not afford to have 26 members not paying, even if some arrears did come in. Twenty years before, when John Welsh complained of the difficulties of collecting from the members, the Treasurer was given the help of Thomas Sanderson as Collector. The records are silent on what measures, if any, were taken in the 1790s, and since the amount grew almost every year, it must be deduced that either the energy of the Directors was insufficient to deal with the issue, or that any measures were unsuccessful. Reluctance to pay subscriptions was a clear sign of a falling-away of interest in the activities of the Musical Society.

The Minute books end with the record of accounts at 6 August 1795, and only the page with the 'charge' or income is present. The final page is dated for the month 6 July to 6 August, and there is obviously at least one later page missing, as the heading across the top reads:

Account between the Governors and Directors
their Collector from the 6th July to the 6th August⁵⁶

The usual heading across two pages for the accounts was:

Account between the Governor and Directors of the Musical
Society and [Name] their Treasurer [or Collector in later
years] from the [date] to the [date].⁵⁷

With minor variations in wording this was the formula used, and from this it can be seen that the Minute book is incomplete. The period of one month indicated on the final page was unprecedented in the whole body of accounts of the Society, whose reckonings were always for six months or one year. This is perhaps a sign that something unusual had occurred in the Society's accounting year, and some explanation is found in the writing at the foot of the same page. Again it is half of what was written across the double page, as follows:

Edinburgh 30th December 1795. The above
& the Society having been examined & the
& the Balance due by the Collector Thomas

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 163.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 164.

⁵⁷ E.g. *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 20.

amounting to Two hundred & Fifty one pounds

be carried to the Credit of the ensuing ac-

who is hereby elected Collector to the

The unusual event which caused an accounting of only one month to be reported at the end of the year would seem to have been the replacement of the Collector, perhaps caused by the retirement of Thomas Sanderson, who had been serving the Society since 1750 as clerk and then Collector. There is no indication of the name of the new Collector.

Information on the activities of the Society after July 1795 is sparse, but the Innes papers contain some details. The list of candidates for election in February 1796 has been discussed. All were elected, and the list is countersigned on the back by Gilbert Innes and Robert Sinclair, both Directors at the time. The debts of the Society were noted at various times by Gilbert Innes, beginning in December 1795, when the sum stood at £876-7-10.⁵⁸ This is at variance with what the last fragment of accounts above stated, and must be taken to include the debt to Forbes Hunter, bankers, which was not normally included in the half-yearly statements. The only individual creditor mentioned in 1795 was Dr. Arnold whose edition of Handel's works the Society was purchasing as it appeared. A previous bill from Dr. Arnold dated November 1791⁵⁹ for two sets of volumes (nos. 39-83 and 84-106) was paid in the second half of 1792.⁶⁰

The Society was apparently not very speedy in paying its bills at this time, nor had it been in other years. A letter to Gilbert Innes from his fellow-director John Russell on 22 July 1789 said:

I send you inclosed the Accot. due to me by the Concert [i.e. the Society], which I wish you could get settled. I wish you could also get Corri and Sutherland's [music sellers and publishers] account settled as they owe me a pretty large sum for catches, and have set apart the sum due by the Concert for the purpose of discharging that debt.⁶¹

There may have been bad feeling between the music sellers and John Russell, as two papers recorded a dispute about the size of Corri and Sutherland's account with the Musical Society in 1788-89. An unsigned list of queries relating to excess charges

⁵⁸ GD113/4/164/67.

⁵⁹ GD113/4/164/67.

⁶⁰ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 140.

⁶¹ GD113/4/164/191.

for binding, overcharging on the hire of a piano, too many sets of Kozeluch's overtures being supplied, and other matters, was passed to the firm for their comments.⁶² Their reply made it clear that the originator of the complaint was John Russell, and they gave what they believed to be good reasons for the items in the account. The bill was paid but not until June 1790.⁶³ Dissatisfaction with the way in which the Society was dealing with its finances may well have been the reason for John Russell's resignation as a Director in August 1789.⁶⁴

Gilbert Innes noted that the Society's debt on 24 June 1796 was £864-16-6.⁶⁵ The date of this memo is close to that chosen every year by the Society for its anniversary or general meeting, and it is possible that Innes prepared the figure for discussion at a meeting of that sort. He performed the same task in January 1797, when the amount was £812-8-8.⁶⁶ The latter statement included references to salaries, tradesmen's bills and the debt to the bank, so the concerts were still happening despite the dreadful financial situation. Some jobs were being carried out for the Society, such as the printing of tickets for a concert in July 1797, and the preparation of a new plate for Ladies' tickets.⁶⁷ A bill for nine months' hire of a pianoforte and tuning was paid in August.⁶⁸ In the previous February a bill was submitted for repairs to the cupola of the hall, along with which were requests for payment of two accounts already sent in dating from 1794-5, for painting work.⁶⁹ The unpaid accounts were not large by the Society's standards, only £6-8-7, but they are further evidence of either slack book-keeping or lack of money.

Musicians were being paid up to June 1797, although not much – Alexander and William Napier and Nathaniel Gow were all paid £5 to that date, minus £3-5-0 for bad attendance in every case.⁷⁰ But the end was near, and was reached in September and October of that year, when the contracts of Schetky, Stabilini, Natale Corri and others were terminated on various dates. The wording of the receipts for payment made the situation clear, as for example on the paper which Stabilini signed, dated 13 October:

⁶² GD113/4/164/126.

⁶³ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 116.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 104.

⁶⁵ GD113/5/408/41.

⁶⁶ GD113/5/408/40.

⁶⁷ GD113/5/316b/23 – a bill from the engraver.

⁶⁸ GD113/5/408/6.

⁶⁹ GD113/5/316b/16.

⁷⁰ GD113/5/408/30-32. GD113/5/408/23.

...payment in full of my allowance for last season, and all other demands from the said Society, which has some time ago intimated to me that all engagements betwixt us are now at an end.⁷¹

The group of documents also contains settlements of accounts with newspapers and housekeeping bills.

Without an orchestra, the Society could hold no more concerts and the next development was the calling of a meeting on 4 December 1797. Cards were sent out notifying members of this, and it was advertised in the *Herald & Chronicle, Edinburgh Evening Courant* and *Edinburgh Advertiser*.⁷² For the meeting, Gilbert Innes prepared another note of the indebtedness of the Society to Forbes Hunter, which amounted to £672-10-5 on 2 December. A report of the meeting appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 4 January 1798 which gave full details of the decisions taken. 45 members attended and were also entrusted with five proxy votes. After listing the names of all these, the report continued:

The Lord Advocate [Robert Dundas] reported from the Committee appointed by the last meeting 'That the Committee had met with the Directors and had fully canvassed the business, that the Committee and Directors could not reflect without much regret on the Dissolution of a Society so very respectable which had existed for near 70 years, and had during that long period afforded so elegant an entertainment, as the concerts always had been to the city of Edinburgh: that they much feared, however, it would not be possible to continue to carry on the Concert longer on the present plan: and therefore the Committee begged leave to suggest the following as what appeared to them best calculated to keep the Society alive in the mean time, with the hope that the spirit of it might hereafter be revived.'

The suggestion of the Committee was that a series of concerts be planned on a subscription basis, the sum charged to be two and a half guineas for seven concerts. Two per month would be held in February and March, one each in January, April and Race week (early June). The idea was approved and it was agreed to send a minute to every member. A general meeting was arranged for 8 January in St. Cecilia's Hall and notice of any dissent was to be made to Thomas Sanderson at his shop in the front of the Royal Exchange. He was also to receive names proposed for election to the Society at that meeting.

⁷¹ GD113/5/408/23.

⁷² GD113/5/316b/24-27.

The subscription of two and a half guineas was less than the Society's subscription of three and a half, but the number of concerts offered under the plan of the Committee was very inferior to a whole season, which might have up to forty concert nights. The Musical Society was being forced by circumstances to redefine what it felt it could offer its audience, for economic reasons primarily, but also because that audience had changed. There was still a good demand for the sort of music which the Society had enjoyed, as was shown by the immediate advertising of various concert series promoted by the former musicians of the Society.⁷³ There was not a demand for the social or cultural markers which made the Musical Society what it had been for so long. The exclusivity of membership and the emphasis on participation had been accepted at its commencement, but when its own success had led it to expand to the extent of building its own concert hall and becoming a centre for social as well as musical interest then the original ideology had been overtaken, and the demands of day-to-day administration and finance had conflicted with the ideals of long-term members.

The outcome of the suggested subscription series was not recorded, but the Society held one more meeting in December 1798:

...for the purpose of finally determining whether the Society shall be immediately dissolved, or continued on the present or any other plan, and for taking the proper and necessary measures in the event of either of those resolutions.⁷⁴

From this it may be deduced that no great success had attended the promotion of the seven-concert series, and the slight tone of desperation points to the probable dissolution of the Society at this time. In a final attempt to recoup some money the Society advertised in May 1800 that St. Cecilia's Hall was available for letting.⁷⁵

St. Cecilia's Hall to be let, for one or more years, and entered to immediately.

St. Cecilia's Hall, with the whole adjoining apartments, situated in Niddry Street and having also an entry from the Cowgate, Edinburgh. The Hall is 60' long by 36' wide and of a proportionable height. It is completely fitted up with seats and is extraordinarily well calculated for a place of worship

⁷³ E.g. in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 17 December 1798, an advertisement for a 'Professional Concert, prevented before by the continuation of the Gentlemen's Concert of St. Cecilia's Hall, in George Street Assembly rooms', a series of eight concerts for two guineas, with two tickets per subscription. The announcement appeared at the top of the front page, and the musicians involved included Schetky, Stabilini, Urbani and Natale Corri and his wife.

⁷⁴ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 22 December 1798.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 5 May 1800.

or other public meeting. On the ground floor is an apartment 34' long by 21' wide neatly finished, besides an outer hall and several other conveniences. The premises will be shown by Gilbert Herriot the hall keeper, who lives opposite to the foot of Blackfriars Wynd, in the Cowgate, and any person wishing to rent the hall may apply to Alexander Laing architect at his house in St. James' Square, Edinburgh.

The original Articles of the Musical Society provide a starting point in the consideration of why their finances were never on a sound footing for long. Article 8 stated that

...there shall be no Dividend made of any money arising from the yearly contributions or otherwise, without the consent of the Governour, & Directors, and two thirds of the members.

This implied that any money left after the affairs of the Society had been paid for would be kept for the future use of the Society. It also implied that there was no thought of making a profit for its members, and it is significant that, although a way was left open in the Article for a two-thirds majority of the members to change the procedure, it was never mentioned in the entire record of their meetings. The members were content to pay their subscriptions, agreeing to a rise in membership numbers when those in charge felt it necessary. The latter measure and the increasing of subscriptions were the only successful financial devices employed by the Directors. Attempts to reduce the salaries of highly paid professionals were made from time to time, but either they failed because the musicians concerned objected, or the reduction lasted for only a short time.⁷⁶

The costs of running the Musical Society were not comparable to those of other clubs and societies for three reasons. Firstly, the Musical Society was in existence for much longer than any other society in the eighteenth century, and carried on its activities for almost seventy years. It would be unreasonable to think that there would be no change in outside economic circumstances over that length of time. Secondly, by its nature, what the Society did involved recurring expense in the employment of numbers of musicians and the provision of premises in which to hold the concerts. The other clubs in the city, whether literary, philosophical or debating, had no overheads except a small charge for hiring a room, as the pursuits of the club consisted of member participation in discussion or in preparation of a speech. Thirdly, and connected to the first reason, the changes in circumstance over

⁷⁶ See Chapter 5.

the years (e.g. the growth in the size of the orchestra, the creation of their own concert hall) was not answered by a corresponding change in attitude from the Directors in their ways of financing the Society.

A similarity to other clubs may be seen in the beginnings of the Society. It had been formed for the playing of music by its members, and had it remained thus there would have been no large monetary demands on it. It moved on, however, at least in its ambitions for itself, to employ professional players, which immediately raised the question of how to pay them. Although it was never expressed in the Minutes of the Society, the use of paid players raised the standard of the music at the Friday concerts, and gave the gentlemen an opportunity to improve their own playing. The wish to do both of these must have been evident from the start, as the first foreign players were not long in arriving in Edinburgh.⁷⁷ There was also an undeniable social cachet to be gained in the presence of foreign experts, and this feeling continued through the years, culminating in the search for singers described in Chapter 5. The growth of musical activity and the building of St. Cecilia's Hall turned the Society into a venture quite different from what had at first been envisaged, with responsibilities far beyond what its administration had been set up for.

The only change made in the running of the Society throughout its history apart from the change in the Treasurer's duties in 1779 was the increase in the number of Directors from five to seven in July 1762, by a proposal of the members 'as their [sic] was now to be a greater number of members than formerly'.⁷⁸ This was at the time when the total membership was increased to 170, and was a natural move to give a larger board of Directors for a larger Society. There was no expressed intention to change the function of the Directors, and the duties of the principal office-bearers continued as before. The result was that the Society's numbers and activities grew, with no compensating growth in the administration. The change caused by Welsh's bankruptcy in 1779 transferred some of the Treasurer's tasks to the Collector, but did nothing to strengthen the Society's financial footing. Two opportunities, at times of change in its life, to modernise the way the Society controlled its growing business, were thus not grasped. The

⁷⁷ See Appendix D. Signor Pulli arrived in 1733.

⁷⁸ EMS Minutes, vol. II, p. 136.

regulations set out in 1728 and tailored to the needs of that era were in force for the rest of the century.

Although the Society itself did not survive the end of the century, the hall forms part of its great legacy. It was the first building in Scotland to be specially created for the performance of music, and it survived a succession of different uses as school, warehouse and dance hall in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to be returned to as near its original state as possible, and to be used for its original purpose.⁷⁹ The ambition of the gentlemen of the Concert was thwarted by mundane finance, but not before they had made an enormous contribution to the cultural life of their city in the form of the concerts which contributed so much to the artistic life of Edinburgh, and the building which still exists today.

⁷⁹ From unpublished personal notes made by Professor Sydney Newman when the University of Edinburgh purchased the Hall in 1962 and restored it. His sources were not quoted.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the known papers of the Edinburgh Musical Society, and to form from them a picture of the Society's activities which is more detailed than has been possible up to the present date. The creation of computerised databases has produced the patterns of membership, financing and musical programming discussed in the previous chapters. The place which the Society occupied in the years before and during the Scottish Enlightenment, in a city which was growing and changing, can be seen to have been a influential one.

One of its most powerful characteristics was the nature of its membership. The reason for its existence, the performance of music, set it aside from other clubs and societies of the time, in that members were expected to contribute their musical skills. Several of them were needed to form an orchestra, and it is probable that a core list of those willing to play, and of a sufficiently high standard, was known to the organisers, from whom several were asked, or volunteered, to join the paid musicians on any Friday. The co-operation needed to take part in an orchestral performance was a very different matter from the giving of a paper in a debating club, or the simple spending of an evening in listening to a discussion. The Society offered opportunities for personal enjoyment and fulfilment which were available nowhere else in the populous world of the Edinburgh clubs. It gathered to itself those who possessed musical ability and who also satisfied the other requirements of membership, i.e. who had the financial and social status to be accepted as members. This made their circle a relatively small one, but the influence of the Society was correspondingly greater, because of the connections between the members discussed in Chapter 2. The strength of this cohesion probably provides one reason for its long existence in an environment where clubs normally had a life of only a few years.

Why should the group of friends who formed the nucleus of the Society have taken the trouble to institute a legal and organisational framework at all? It was pointed out in Chapter 2 that there is evidence for their meetings before 1728, and there must have been a reason for the change to a properly constituted society, with carefully documented regulations. Consideration of the subsequent history of the society, and a reading of the Articles and Regulations make it clear that the

principal idea behind the forming of the Society was financial. Out of twelve Articles, numbers 3,5,6,8,9 and 11 deal with some monetary aspect of the activities which the Society intended to pursue.¹ Although the employment of professional musicians was not mentioned in the Articles, the ability to pay salaries was one of the most obvious benefits of constitution, and this became such an important part of the Society's life that it must be regarded as the backbone of its contribution to musical culture in the city.

The bringing of professional players to Edinburgh has been discussed in Chapter 5 and, putting financial questions aside, it can be seen that their presence allowed the Society to present music on a scale which would otherwise not have been possible.² Although many of them stayed only for a limited time in the city, some, such as Schetky, Pasquali, and Reinagle sen., made their home there and enriched its musical life. In the early years the professionals supported the playing of the amateurs for whom the Society existed, encouraging amateur music-making in Edinburgh as a whole because of their teaching and their example in the concerts. In the later years when amateur interest in playing in the concerts was waning, as discussed in Chapter 3, there was already in the city a number of players who could fill spaces and let the concerts continue on a changed basis. The Society was responsible, although it may not have intended to be so, for the firm establishment of professional musical performance in Edinburgh.³ This, the historical consequence of the formation of an amateur society which tried fiercely to guard its founding ideals, is something of a paradox. The social and economic changes discussed in Chapter 7, however, overtook the Society and it may be argued that in the move away from public amateur music-making the Musical Society was ultimately a victim of its own achievements. The reality of commercial music-making had been established, but not because the Musical Society wished its enterprise to be financially driven - indeed its amateur directors had tried their utmost to keep to the ideals of its foundation. However the progress of the Society led it to become dependent on finance and professionalism despite itself, and

¹ The Society's Articles and Regulations are reproduced in Appendix A.

² Burchell, 'Polite or Commercial Concerts?', p. 37, notes that Edinburgh had a reputation which attracted more and better professional musicians than any other provincial centre, except for Bath.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 295. Burchell comments that commercial concerts came to Edinburgh only late in the century. This is only true if the underlying commercial imperatives of the Musical Society are not considered.

caused its end when it could no longer maintain its independence from outside forces.

Perhaps some of the urge to expand came from a wish to emulate the concert life which many members experienced when they visited London. Research for this thesis has not included a comparison of music in the two cities, because the subject is too large to consider here, but the conclusions reached in preceding chapters provide bases on which further research may be founded. The connections of politics and trade between the two cities increased rapidly during the century, and it has been noted in Chapter 2 that many members of the Society were influential in these areas. Visits to London grew easier with improvements in transport, and postal services became faster and more secure.⁴ The Society was in constant communication with Robert Bremner and other 'exiled' Scots, and their network spread abroad as well. Musicians arrived from jobs in London and brought their experience of that city with them. Edinburgh could not rival London in any real sense, but the Musical Society certainly tried to provide concerts with similar repertoire and standards. Its employment of foreign artists from the beginning of its existence is one proof that it was outward-looking and accepting of non-Scottish influences.⁵

The success which brought the Society to the reality of building St. Cecilia's Hall was huge in any terms. It is difficult in our own time to imagine any private society with the resources to commission and construct its own building for a specialised purpose, but it is clear from the Society papers that the task was accepted and accomplished with enthusiasm. The ability of the Society to do this is another proof of the influence of its circle of members, in this case in the financial world of Edinburgh. The survey of its profits and losses in Appendix E shows that the running of the Society was never easy, and yet it had established itself so firmly in its cultural environment that it lasted for seventy years and was able in the case of the construction of the hall to win unquestioning support both from its own members and from other donors.

A prominent feature of the Society's administration throughout those years was the fact that although the employment of professional musicians increased, the

⁴ H. G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 1899, pp. 62-64.

⁵ Cf. the impulse in the clubs, identified by McElroy, to use English examples for their own improvement (Chapter 1).

control of the programmes performed remained in the hands of the amateurs, at least until late in the century when the changes mentioned in Chapter 4 began to be apparent. The purpose of the concerts was still not overtly commercial, and the programmes planned to provide music which appealed to an audience accustomed to the aims of the Society. Thus efforts to produce oratorios continued into the 1790s, and an important by-product of the Society's support for the music of Handel was the establishment of choral singing in Edinburgh – another amateur and participatory activity which distinguished the Musical Society from all its companion clubs.⁶ The repertoire of music performed in the concerts reflected more the aspirations of amateur players than professionals, and concentrated more heavily on ensemble works than on virtuoso pieces. Because the Society supported the series of *Periodical Overtures* which brought new music from the Continent, and because it gave many opportunities to the Earl of Kellie to have his compositions performed, the concert audiences in Edinburgh heard programmes as up-to-date as those they might have heard in London. Only in the last fifteen years, for reasons discussed in Chapter 7, was there a change in the balance of the programmes and a decline both in standards of playing and of planning.

The Musical Society represented all that was possible for music-lovers in its time. It was a unique organisation, and because of its long life it laid the foundations for the rich musical environment which continued to flourish in Edinburgh in the nineteenth century. Its use of songs in every programme, and its encouragement of Scots songs, led to such undertakings as the commissioning of arrangements for Scots songs by George Thomson from Pleyel, Haydn and Beethoven.⁷ This had an influence still fully to be explored on the Romantic movement in Europe, and carried the name of Scotland and its music farther than the members of the Edinburgh Musical Society could have imagined. Thomson's great appreciation of Tenducci's interpretation of Scots songs in the Society's concerts must have been the reason for his approaching such eminent composers. Tenducci himself carried the Scots song back to London, and although he did not start the wave of approval for Celtic melodies already well established in the

⁶ The Catch Club, which existed alongside the Musical Society for some years, consisted of the same membership and was very much an after-dinner activity. See Arnot, *History*, p. 292.

⁷ Johnson, *Music and Society*, p.145. The success or otherwise of the song arrangements received by Thomson does not change the fact that the Musical Society was a principal cause of the international recognition of Scotland's song heritage.

capital, he was able to promote them with an authority gained by his experience in Edinburgh.⁸

The Musical Society's legacy did not rely only on the Scots song, however. Its constant championing from its earliest days of the music of Handel, Corelli and Geminiani made sure that the works of these composers were embedded in the consciousness of Edinburgh music-lovers. Its outward-looking membership, again from the earliest times (Sir John Clerk, the Earl of Kellie), brought music from the Continent and experience of playing with foreign players. The two worlds of national and international music co-existed in the Musical Society in a way which would not have been possible had the Society started out with preconceptions about its role in the city and in society. It grew organically, within the influences of the eighteenth century which have been discussed in the foregoing chapters, and came to an end when that growth could no longer be sustained.

Circumstances came together in Edinburgh in the shape of friends who wanted to make music, a circle of members with the business skills to run concerts, a social group which believed in the betterment of the intellect and the soul through the arts and which practised its ideals of sensibility and co-operation. The fortunate concurrence of all these gave the city seventy years of music which, without the Musical Society, might never have arrived.

⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, pp.133-4. See also Nelson, 'Tea-table miscellanies', pp. 607-8 for a list of the best-known songs sung by Tenducci, and a short discussion of his style.

These are transcribed verbatim from pages 1-2 of the Sederunt Books, volume I.

At Edinburgh the Twentyninth day of March one thousand seven hundred and twenty eight years We the Members of the Musicall Society held weekly in Mary's Chapell in Niddry's Wynd, Either now subscribing, or who shall subscribe on, or before the second Wednesday of June next, Being resolved for our Mutuall Diversion and Entertainment to continue the same, and to render it perpetuall, Have agreed, and do hereby agree, to assemble our selves weekly in the said place for the performance of concerts of Musick as we have already done for these twelve months past, under the following Articles and Regulations, which are hereby declared to be the fundamentall Laws of the Society, To which we respectively submitt

1. That the Society shall consist of a number of members not exceeding seventy, unless it shall afterwards appear necessary in a generall meeting to increase the number.
2. That for the preservation of order, and the Management of the affairs of the Society, there shall be a Governour, Deputy Governour, Treasurer, & five Directors Elected in a Generall meeting of the Subscribers, hereby appointed to be held upon the second Wednesday of June next ensueing at five a clock [sic] in the afternoon in the Hall and afterwards to be annually Elected in generall meetings of the Society hereby appointed to be held at the same place, and at the same hour, upon every second Wednesday of June yearly thereafter, and that the said Election shall proceed by way of Ballot.
3. That upon the said second Wednesday of June ensueing in the said first generall meeting, and in every generall meeting yearly thereafter, before proceeding to the Election of the said officers of the Society, every member shall pay a Guinea [sic] into the hands of Mr. Robert Lumsdain our present Cashier, or into the hands of the Treasurer for the time being, towards defraying the Annuall Charge of the Society & the augmenting its stock.
4. That a Book shall be kept wherein shall be recorded the Minutes of procedure in the said Generall Meetings, and likewise the Matters which shall occur in the ordinary Course of administration of the Governour and Directors, which being fairly entered into the said Book, shall be duly signed by the Governour, or Deputy Governour, and four of the Directors, hereby appointed to be a Quorum.
5. That the Society being thus regularly constituted with a Governour and Directors, shall after the said first generall Meeting proceed to consider the Requests of those who desire to be received and admitted as members of the Society, and that the Question, Admitt or not, shall be determined in a meeting consisting of the Governour or Deputy Governour, and Quorum of Directors, & fifteen members, by the Majority of voices, declar'd after the Manner of Ballot. That the Member admitted shall pay at his Entry into the hands of the

Appendix A – Articles and Regulations of the Musical Society

Treasurer a Guinea, to serve as his Contribution for that year wherein he enters. And that a record of such admission & payment shall be duly entered into the Book of the Society and signed as aforesaid.

6. And to the End that the yearly contribution of the Members may be pay'd regularly and without Trouble to the Treasurer, Every Member neglecting to pay the same as directed by the Third Article, shall eo ipso not only Forfeit all Right in the Society, and be no longer deemed a member thereof, But is hereby Declared to be Incapable of being again received as a Member upon any after application, unless he shall Justifie such a cause of omission as excuses him from the apparent Contempt, and may induce the Society to admitt him anew according to the fifth Article upon payment of such additionall contribution as to the Meeting assembled for his Readmission shall seem meet.

7. That a Concert of Musick shall be performed every Friday during the time of Session, which shall begin precisely at six a Clock in the afternoon in summer, and at half an hour after five in the winter.

8. That there shall be no Dividend made of any money ariseing from the yearly contributions or otherwise, without the consent of the Governour, and Directors, and two thirds of the Members.

9. That it shall belong to the Governour and Directors, to appoint Concerts for the Entertainment of the Ladys [sic], at such times as they shall think proper. That the Tickets by which the Ladys are to be admitted shall be issued by the Treasurer, not exceeding the number of sixty, except on the feast of St. Cecilia, to be purchased from the Treasurer by the Members of the Society alone, at the rate of half a crown each, upon the Wednesday immediately preceeding the Concert. And if any be returned it shall only be on the day following before one a clock in the afternoon.

10. That the Management of every Matter and thing, whether touching the performance of the Musick, of the Execution of the Rules and orders of the Society, Contained either in these Articles, or found afterwards Convenient to be agreed to for the better Governm[en]t of the Society and its Concerns, shall be the province of the Governour & Directors.

11. That the Treasurer shall fill his accompts yearly with the Governour & Directors sometime in the month of May.

12. That the Governour Deputy Governour and Directors shall each have the privilege of inviting one or two of their acquaintances to share of the Musick performed in the said Concerts, other than those to which Ladys happen to be invited, To which none besides Members are to be admitted unless in some very particular Case it shall appear reasonable to the Governour and Directors to allow of the same.

MEMBERS COMMON TO THE MUSICAL SOCIETY AND SELECT SOCIETY

Earl of Deskford
James Adam
John Adam
Alexander Agnew of Dalreagle
Robert Alexander
Robert Arbuthnot
Dr. Adam Austin
Robert Berry
John Boyle, 3rd Earl of Glasgow
George Brown, Lord Coalston
James Burnet, Lord Monboddo
Sir Ilay Campbell
John Campbell, Lord Stonefield
James Carmichael
George Chalmers
Robert Chalmers
Dr. David Clerk
Sir George Clerk
George Cockburn (Haldane)
John Coutts
David Dalrymple, Lord Westhall
Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes
Sholto Douglas, Lord Aberdour
Dunbar Douglas-Hamilton, 4th Earl of Selkirk
James Douglas-Hamilton, 6th Duke of Hamilton
George Drummond
Dr. Colin Drummond
Patrick Duff
Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas
Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord Minto
Lieutenant Charles Erskine
James Erskine, Lord Alva
Adam Fairholm of Greenhill
Sir Adam Ferguson
Professor Adam Ferguson
James Ferguson, yr. of Pitfour
Francis Garden, Lord Gardenstone
Cosmo Gordon
Charles Gordon, 4th Earl of Aboyne
John Graham of Dugalston
Hon. Baron Grant
James Guthrie
John Hamilton, 4th Lord Belhaven
Dr. James Hay
James Hay, 15th Earl of Errol
Henry Home, Lord Kames
Dr. Francis Home
Patrick Home of Billy
Dr. John Hope
William Johnston of Banks

Appendix B – Members common to the Musical Society and other clubs

David Kennedy, 10th Earl of Cassilis
Thomas Kennedy, 9th Earl of Cassilis
Alexander Maxwell
John McGowan
Rt. Hon. Thomas Miller
Dr. Alexander Monro
George Morrison
George Muir
Patrick Murray of Cherrytrees
Patrick Murray, 5th Lord Elibank
Colonel Robert Murray
Alexander Murray, Lord Henderland
John Murray, yr. of Philiphaugh
William Nairne, Lord Dunsinan
General James Adolphus Oughton
Neil Primrose, 3rd Earl of Rosebery
Lord Dalmeny (Primrose)
John Pringle
David Rae, Lord Eskgrove
George Ramsay
Rev. Dr. William Robertson
David Ross, Lord Ankerville
Dr. Alexander Stevenson
Alexander Stewart, 6th Earl of Galloway
Sir John Stewart
Walter Stewart
John Stewart, Lord Garles
William Sutherland, 18th Earl of Sutherland
John Swinton
Alexander Tait
William Tytler
Alexander Udney of Udney
George Wallace
Alexander Wedderburn
Rev. Dr. George Wishart

MEMBERS OF THE MUSICAL SOCIETY AND THE WIG CLUB

Captain Mungo Campbell
Colonel Robert Campbell of Finab
Francis Charteris, later 7th Earl of Wemyss
James Cheap of Sauchie
Thomas Hamilton, 7th Earl of Haddington
Charles Hamilton, Lord Binning
John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburgh
Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton
John Hay Bushby Maitland
William McDowal of Castle Semple
Patrick Murray, 5th Lord Elibank
John Pringle
Sir John Whiteford

MEMBERS OF THE MUSICAL SOCIETY AND THE MIRROR CLUB

Alexander Abercromby
William Craig
William Creech
Robert Cullen
Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes
Cosmo Gordon
William Macleod, Lord Bannatyne
Alexander Wedderburn

MEMBERS OF THE MUSICAL SOCIETY AND THE RANKENIAN CLUB

Charles Maitland of Pittrichie
Colin McLaurin
Alexander Murray, Lord Henderland
Dr. John Pringle
Professor John Stevenson
George Wallace
Rev. Dr. George Wishart
Dr. Thomas Young

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

The information is taken from the Musical Society Minute Books. Although the Society was generally careful in keeping its records, the assembling of the database on membership has revealed gaps in information which are shown as question marks in the date columns. Full names, titles and estates have been entered where they are known.

<i>Last Name</i>	<i>First Name</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Estate/Title Name</i>	<i>Membership Dates</i>	
Abercrombie	Alexander			1784	1797
Abercrombie	George		Tullibody	1731	1732
Abercromby	Alexander			1775	1797
Aberdeen	Robert			1770	1773
Adair	Thomas			1783	1793
Adam	James			1754	1759
Adam	John			1755	1776
Agnew	Alexander		Dalreagle	1755	1765
Alexander	Robert			1750	1774
Alexander	Claud		Balochmyle	1786	1789
Allan				1742	?
Allan	Robert			1789	1797
Alton				?	1743
Anderson	William			1772	1785
Anderson	Alexander			1781	1792
Anderson	William			1788	?
Anderson				1740	1742
Anderson	James			?	1749
Anstruther	John	Sir		1741	1779
Anstruther	Robert	Sir	Balcaskie	1755	1759
Anstruther	Charles			1734	1745
Anstruther	David			1744	1744
Anstruther	John			1777	1797
Arbuthnot yr.	Robert		Knox	1739	1741
Archer				1743	1744
Austin	Adam	Doctor		1759	1774
Ayton	Roger			1776	1778
Baillie	George	Honble	Jerviswood	1755	?
Baillie	James		Culterallers	1783	1797
Baillie			Inneswood	?	1774
Baird	William	Sir		1749	1755
Baird	George			1792	1797
Balfour	James		Pilrige	1750	1769
Balfour	John			1739	?
Balfour	Andrew		Balbirnie	1775	1779
Balfour	David			1781	1797
Balfour	John		Balbirnie	1772	1777
Balmain	James	Commissioner		1755	1778
Barclay Harry				1739	1743
Barrett		Brigadier		1728	1731
Bayne	Alexander		Rires	1728	1737
Bellendine	Henry	Sir		1752	1755
Belsches	John		Innermay	1750	1769
Bennett				1742	1744
Bennett	John			1793	1797
Berry	Robert			1755	1762
Berry	William			1769	1778
Bethune	John		Kilconquhar	1784	1789
Bethune	Henry			1767	1774
Beveridge	William			1790	1797
Binning	William		Walliford	1743	1750
Binning	David Munro			1792	1797
Black		Doctor		1768	1781

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Blair	John		Bothwick	1745	1753
Blair	Robert			1785	1797
Blair		Doctor		1785	1797
Bonar	Andrew			1792	1797
Boswell	Claud			1768	1788
Boswell	Alexander		Blackader	1776	1797
Boswell	Alexander			1736	1743
Boswell	James			1769	1771
Bowes-Lyon	James	Earl 7th	Strathmore	1731	1735
Boyd	Charles			?	1750
Boyle	John	Earl 3rd	Glasgow	1753	1775
Brent		Commissioner		1728	?
Broderick	Allan			1728	1743
Brown	Charles		Coalston	1767	1797
Brown	George	Commissioner		1778	1797
Brown	Robert			1784	1789
Brown	Archibald		Greenbank	1735	1742
Brown	Charles			1762	?1775
Brown yr.	Andrew		Dolphinton	1739	1741
Bruce	James			1728	1753
Bruce	Robert	Lord	Kennet	1778	?
Bruce	John		Kinross	?	1731
Bruce	Robert		Kennet	1761	1775
Bruce	James		Kinnaird	1752	1753
Brydon	Patrick	Captain		1784	1789
Buchan	John		Letham	1744	?
Buchan	George		Kelly	1771	1790
Burnet		Commissioner		1736	1738
Burnet	James	Lord	Monboddo	1755	1758
Burnet(t)	Andrew		Kirkhill	1745	1757
Calderwood	Thomas		Polton	1733	1749
Callender	James			1750	1759
Callender	John		Craigforth	1735	1775
Callender	Alexander		Crichton	1788	1793
Campbell	Colin			1728	1743
Campbell	John	Commissioner		1728	1742
Campbell	Charles		Monzie	1742	1751
Campbell	Archibald			1750	1756
Campbell	John	Earl 3rd	Breadalbane	1755	1782
Campbell	John		Levenside	1752	1755
Campbell	David			1755	?
Campbell	Ilay	Sir		1759	1797
Campbell	Mungo	Captain		1778	1794
Campbell	John	Duke 5th	Argyll	1772	1797
Campbell	Robert	Colonel	Finab	1772	?
Campbell	William			1775	?
Campbell		Colonel	Blythswood	1792	1795
Campbell	John		Succoth	1731	1742
Campbell	James	Sir	Aberuchill	1735	1737
Campbell		Captain	Monzie	1741	1749
Campbell	John	Lord	Glenorchy	1751	?
Campbell	David			?	1774
Campbell	William		Fairfield	?	1781
Campbell	John	Lord	Stonefield	?	1774
Campbell yr	Archibald		Stonefield	1774	1774
Campbell yr	Archibald		Succoth	1795	1797
Carmichael	John			1729	1756
Carmichael	James			1740	1774
Carmichael		Earl 4th	Hyndford	1775	1778
Carmichael	William			1731	1732

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Carnegie	James	Earl 2nd	Fyfe (Fife)	?	1797
Carnegie	James Lindsay			1786	1788
Carnegie	James	Sir		1740	1742
Carr(e)	George			1728	1740
Cathcart	John		Gerioch	1793	1797
Carre	Thomas		Kavers	1739	?
Cay	Robert Hodgson			1793	1797
Chalmers	George			1750	1774
Chalmers	Robert			1748	1781
Charteris	James	Earl 5th	Wemyss	1728	1741
Charteris		Lord	Elcho	1741	?
Charteris	Samuel			1786	1788
Charteris	Francis	Earl 7th	Wemyss	1744	1792
Cheap	James		Sauchie	1758	1779
Cheap	James			1788	1792
Christie	James		Durie	1790	1797
Clark	James			1728	1731
Clark	John		Loanhead	1782	?
Clark	George	Commissioner		1763	?
Clark	George			1771	1776
Clayton		Captain		1740	1741
Cleghorn	William			1749	1753
Clephan	George		Carslogie	1775	1778
Clerk	John	Sir	Penicuik	1729	1755
Clerk	James	Sir		1750	1782
Clerk	David	Doctor		1750	1768
Clerk	John			1750	1764
Clerk	Robert			1744	1770
Clerk	Hugh			1731	1750
Clerk		Commissioner		1778	?
Clerk	John	Lord	Eldin	1786	1789
Clerk	Robert			1731	1732
Clerk	George			1737	1739
Clerk	James			1739	1748
Clerk	Alexander			1740	1744
Clerk		Commissary		?	1742
Clerk	George	Sir			
Clerk	James			1786	1797
Clerk	George			1775	1776
Clerk	John	Sir		1793	1797
Clerk-Maxwell	George			1775	?
Cochran	Alexander		Balbackly	1731	1733
Cockburn	James	Sir		1750	1758
Cockburn	Peter				
Cockburn	Patrick			1731	1734
Cockburn	Richard		Clerkington	1737	1739
Cockburn	Alexander	Sir		1741	1742
Cockburn	Thomas	Doctor		1745	?
Cockburn	Archibald		Cockpen	1766	1772
Cockburn Haldane	George			1755	1773
Colquhoun	James		Luss	1771	1788
Colquhoun				1729	1730
Colquhoun	Lowis		Luss	1731	1734
Colville	John	Lord 8th	Colville	1778	1780
Congalton	William			1735	1739
Congalton	Francis			1737	1738
Corrie	Hugh		Culloch	1792	1797
Coult	Robert			1778	1780
Couts	John			1755	?
Cowe	John	Captain		1781	1788

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Craig	Thomas		Rickarton	1750	1797
Craig	William			1778	1797
Craigie	Robert		Glendoick	1738	1760
Craigie	David		Dunbarney	1762	1783
Craigie	Laurence			1775	1780
Craigie	Robert			1776	1797
Crawford	Patrick		Auchnames	1735	1773
Creech	William			1776	1797
Crichton	Patrick	Earl 6th	Dumfries	1769	1797
Crichton	Alexander			1793	1794
Crosbie	Andrew		Holm	1762	?
Cullen	Robert			1766	1792
Cullen	Henry	Doctor		1785	1792
Cuming			Pattullie	1743	?
Cuming	George		Relugas	1778	1792
Cunningham		Colonel		1749	1752
Cunningham	Alexander			1749	1797
Cunningham		Earl	Glencairn	1750	1763
Cunningham	William		Bonington	1790	1793
Cunningham	Alexander		Craigends	1731	1737
Cunningham	Thomas			1788	1792
Cunningham	David	Captain		1735	1743
Cunningham	William	Sir	Livingston	1778	1787
Cunningham	James	Earl	Glencairn	1778	1784
Cunningham	Alexander		Lathrisk	1788	1797
Dallas	William			1788	1797
Dallas	James			1780	1793
Dalrymple	Hew	Lord	Drummore	1728	1755
Dalrymple	David	Lord	Westhall	1750	1775
Dalrymple	John			1755	1775
Dalrymple	Hew	Sir	Castletoun	1735	?
Dalrymple	David	Lord	Hailes	1755	1793
Dalrymple	John	Captain		1735	1739
Dalrymple	John Horn			1735	1736
Dalrymple	James	Doctor		1776	1778
Dalrymple	Hugh			1729	1744
Dalrymple (Hamilton)	John		Bargeny	1755	1779
Dalrymple-Crichton	William	Earl 5th	Dumfries	1750	1768
Davidson	John			1762	1797
De Cardonell	Adam Lawson			1792	1793
Dewar	James		Vogrie	1792	1797
Dick	William	Sir	Prestonfield	1785	1788
Don	James			1728	1768
Don	John		Altonburn	1728	1730
Don	Alexander	Sir		1776	1784
Doual	Patrick			1739	1745
Douglas	Robert			1728	1735
Douglas	William			1737	1771
Douglas	James	Earl 14th	Morton	1730	1768
Douglas	Lewis			1743	?
Douglas		General		1781	1791
Douglas	George		Cavers	1786	1797
Douglas	James	Lord	Aberdour	1731	1732
Douglas	Robert			1752	1755
Douglas	Sholto	Lord	Morton	?	1774
Douglas			Douglas	1779	?
Douglas	Robert	Lord	Aberdour	1729	1730
Douglas	Sholto	Lord	Aberdour	1757	?
Douglas-Hamilton	Dunbar	Earl 4th	Selkirk	1750	1797
Douglas-Hamilton	James	Duke 6th	Hamilton	1744	1758

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Douglas-Hamilton		Lord	Douglas	1793	1797
Douglas-Hamilton Douglas		Duke 8th	Hamilton	1778	1797
Douglass	John			1782	1752
Drummond	Thomas	Doctor		1741	1750
Drummond	George			1752	1766
Drummond	Colin	Doctor		1753	1767
Drummond	John	Duke	Perth	1735	1744
Drummond	James			1783	1795
Drummond	George			1730	1765
Drummond	James		Perth	1792	1797
Duff	William			1728	1744
Duff	James			1749	1755
Duff	Patrick			1755	1765
Duff	W.Alexander	Honble		1791	1793
Dunbar	Ronald			1729	1735
Duncan	Alexander	Captain		1781	1782
Dundas		Lord	Arniston	1731	?
Dundas	Thomas	Professor		1732	1741
Dundas	George		Dundas	1737	1740
Dundas	Robert	Rt. Hon.		1762	1797
Dundas	Henry		Melville	1762	1797
Dundas	Thomas		Castlecary	1763	1778
Dundas	Robert		Arniston	1778	?
Dundas	John			1779	1797
Dundas	Thomas	Sir		1793	1797
Dundass yr	Robert		Arniston	1730	1732
Dundass yr.	Thomas		Letham	1739	1744
Eccles	Martin			1736	1740
Edgar	James			1780	1797
Edmondstone	James		Newton	1793	1797
Elder	Thomas		Forneth	1774	1797
Elliot	Gilbert	Lord	Minto	1729	1766
Elliot	Thomas	Doctor		1749	1751
Elliott	Gilbert			1752	1766
Elliott yr	William		Borthwickbrae	1785	1793
Elphingston	Alexander			1765	1775
Elphingston	James	Sir		1730	1739
Elphinstone	Alexander			1778	1783
Erskine	John			1728	1754
Erskine	Charles	Lord	Tinwald	1730	1763
Erskine	James			1745	1750
Erskine	Thomas	Earl	Kellie	1750	1781
Erskine		Baron		1755	?
Erskine	James	Lord	Alva	1775	1797
Erskine	John			1781	1791
Erskine	Henry	Honble	Almondell	1783	1797
Erskine			Mar	1786	1797
Erskine	Thomas	Lord	Erskine	1729	1744
Erskine	David	Lord	Dun	1730	1743
Erskine	David	Lord	Cardross	1739	1741
Erskine	David Stewart	Earl 11th	Buchan	1779	1786
Ewart	David			1795	1797
Fairholm	Adam		Greenhill	1728	1764
Fairholm	Thomas			1755	1770
Fairholm	George		Greenknow	1771	1794
Fairholm	Thomas			?	1764
Fairholm	William			1779	?
Falconer	James		Monktoun	1736	1759
Falconer	Anthony	Earl 5th	Kintore	1779	1785
Farquharson	William			1781	?

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Farquharson	William			Bruxy	1781	1797
Farquharson	William	Doctor			1792	1797
Ferguson	Adam	Sir			1755	1774
Ferguson	James			Pitfour	1731	1732
Ferguson	Neil				1775	1797
Ferguson	Adam	Professor			1766	1771
Ferguson	Alexander			Craigdarroch	1769	1778
Ferguson	William			Raith	1784	1797
Fergusson	James	Lord		Kilkeren	1735	1759
Fergusson	George	Lord		Herrmand	1769	1797
Ferguson yr.	James			Pitfour	1760	1797
Fergusson	James				1744	1748
Fleming	James Stewart				1766	1773
Forbes	William	Sir		Pitsligo	1762	1797
Forbes	Hugh				1729	1736
Forbes	Andrew	Honble			1790	1795
Forbes yr	John			Culloden	1738	1738
Fordyce	John				?	1772
Fotheringham	Frederick				1775	1791
Foulis	David	Doctor			1737	1753
Foulis	George				1750	?
France	John				1758	?
Fraser	Alexander				1728	1730
Fraser	Alexander	Lord	15th	Salton	1782	1793
Fraser	Alexander	Lord		Strichen	1731	1741
Fraser	Simon	Lord	11th	Lovat	1738	1739
Fraser		Doctor			1793	1797
Frazer		Major			1784	1784
Freer		Doctor			1793	1797
Fullarton	George				1745	?
Fullerton	William			Carstairs	1775	1797
Fullerton	William			Rosemont	1763	1781
Fullerton	William			Fullerton	1772	?
Fullerton		Colonel			?	1792
Garden	Alexander			Troop	1744	1771
Garden	Francis	Lord		Gardenstone	1744	1769
Gardiner	John				1774	1793
Gardner	John				1775	1778
Gardner	James				1795	1797
Geddes	James				1772	1776
George		Lord		Haddow	1780	1792
Gerves					1742	1744
Gibson	Thomas				1728	1730
Gibson	Alexander				1742	?
Gibson	James			Ingliston	1788	1797
Gibson	Alexander				1759	1761
Gilmour	Charles Sir			Craigmillar	1731	1732
Gilmour		Captain		Craigmillar	1795	1797
Gilmour	Alexander	Sir			1760	1780
Glen	James			Longcrofts	1729	1733
Goldie	George					
Gordon	Robert	Sir		Gordonstoun	1728	1744
Gordon	George	Earl	3rd	Aberdeen	1750	1797
Gordon	Alexander			Whiteley	1750	1771
Gordon	Alexander	Duke	4th	Gordon	1771	?
Gordon		Baron			1778	1797
Gordon		Captain		Kinloch	1778	?
Gordon	John				1792	1793
Gordon	Charles				1737	1742
Gordon	William				1743	1745

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Gordon	William			1772	1774
Gordon	Alexander		Greenlaw	1776	1777
Gordon	James			1795	1797
Gordon yr	Robert		Gordonstoun	1759	1766
Graeme	John			1778	?
Graham	James		Airth	1728	1746
Graham	John		Dugalston	1741	1750
Graham	Thomas		Balgowan	1771	1781
Graham	John			1776	1797
Graham	James	Marquis	Graham	1780	?
Graham	James	Duke 3rd	Montrose	1793	1797
Graham yr	James		Airth	1743	1745
Grahame	George		Kinross	1777	1797
Grant	Alexander			1728	1730
Grant	William	Lord	Prestongrange	1731	1764
Grant	Archibald	Captain	Monimusk	1751	1790
Grant	John			1744	1775
Grant	William			1771	1797
Grant		Doctor		1778	?
Grant	Isaac			1776	1795
Grant	James			1777	1797
Grant	John Peter		Rothiemurchies	1792	1797
Grant	Ludovick		Grant	1735	1738
Grant		Hon. Baron		1759	1777
Grant	Andrew			1765	1772
Grant	Gregory	Doctor		1776	1797
Grant	James	Sir	Grant	1795	1797
Grant	Archibald	Sir		1793	1797
Gray	Francis	Honble		1793	1797
Gregory	John	Doctor		1765	1773
Grieve	William	Doctor		1780	1783
Guild	James			1744	1758
Guthrie	James			1755	1772
Haig		Captain	Bimmerside	1793	1797
Haldane	George			1743	1744
Hall	John	Sir		1749	1754
Hall	William		Whitehall	1754	1779
Hall	James	Sir	Dunglass	1782	1797
Halyburton	James			1736	1740
Hamilton	John			1728	1772
Hamilton		Lord	Bargeny	1728	1739
Hamilton	John	Lord 4th	Belhaven	1728	1764
Hamilton	John		Bargenie	1744	1758
Hamilton	Thomas	Earl 7th	Haddington	1751	1794
Hamilton	Gavin			1752	1763
Hamilton	William			1736	1744
Hamilton	Walter			1756	1780
Hamilton	James		Bargenny	1778	?
Hamilton	William		Wishaw	1792	1797
Hamilton	Basil		Baldon	1731	1739
Hamilton	Thomas		Talla	1734	1735
Hamilton	Archibald			1743	1744
Hamilton	James		Bangour	1771	1777
Hamilton	Charles	Lord	Binning	1774	1786
Hamilton	James	Doctor		1793	1797
Hamilton	Daniel			1793	1797
Hathorn	Vans			1784	1797
Hutton	John			1771	1773
Hay	Thomas			1728	1743
Hay	John		Newhall	1728	1738

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Hay	James	Doctor		1755	1785
Hay	James	Earl 15th	Errol	1750	1771
Hay	Thomas			1776	1785
Hay	George	Marquis 7th	Tweeddale	1789	1793
Hay	George	Cornet		1731	1732
Hay	John	Marquis 4th	Tweeddale	1730	1741
Hay	Thomas	Sir	Alderstoun	1733	1739
Hay	William	Doctor		1739	1743
HayMacdougall	Henry	Sir	MacDowal	1777	1792
Hay yr	John		Haystoun	1782	1797
Henderson	Robert	Sir	Fordel	1742	1750
Hepburn	Robert		Baads	1750	1756
Hepburn	George Buchan			1765	1784
Hepburn	Robert		Clerkington	1775	1797
Heron	Patrick		Heron	1793	1797
Hogg	Thomas		Newliston	1750	1769
Hogg yr	William			1763	1771
Home	Henry	Lord	Kames	1728	1782
Home	Francis	Doctor		1752	1791
Home	Patrick		Billy	1753	?
Home	George			1769	1797
Home	David			1781	1791
Home	James	Sir	Blackadder	1729	1739
Home	William	Earl 8th	Home	1730	1748
Home	Alexander	Honble		1731	1736
Home	George		Kaims	1770	1775
Home Drummond	George			1778	1797
Hume	Patrick		Wedderburn	1775	1793
Hope	John	Doctor		1750	1761
Hope	Charles			1788	1797
Hope	Charles	Honble		1733	?
Hope	Alexander	Sir	Kerss	1736	1739
Hope	James	Earl 3rd	Hopetoun	1793	1797
Hope Weir	Charles			?	1781
Horn	Hugh			1742	1745
Horn		General		1775	1779
Hotchkis	Richard		Templehall	1792	1797
Hotham	Beaumont			1728	1742
Houston	Alexander			1792	1797
Houston	John	Sir		1743	1744
Houston	Andrew		Jordanhill	1793	1797
Howlis	George			1748	?
Hudson	John			1749	1751
Hume	James			1729	1730
Hunter	Robert		Thurston (1793)	1771	1797
Hunter	David		Blackness	1787	1795
Hunter	Walter	Doctor	Polmuid	1778	1780
Hunter (Blair)	James	Sir		1763	1797
Hutton	John			1755	1758
Inglis	David			1728	1751
Inglis	John	Sir	Cramond	1750	1776
Inglis	Patrick			1752	1780
Inglis	Adam			1782	1788
Inglis	William		Middleton	1790	1797
Inglis	Archibald		Auchendinny	1731	1732
Innes	Gilbert		Stow	1771	1797
Innes	James			1792	1797
Irwing	George			1750	1753
Jackson	William			1749	1766
Jardine	Henry		Harwood	1789	1797

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Johnston	William		Banks	1754	1765
Johnston	Alexander		Straiton	1774	1784
Johnston	John		Alva	1783	1797
Johnston	Charles			?	1749
Johnston yr			Alva	1789	1797
Johnstone yr			Lathwick	1794	1797
Jollie	James			1789	1797
Justice	James			1728	1735
Keir (Ker)	Archibald			1769	1772
Keith	Alexander		Ravelston & Dunottar	1773	1797
Keith	Robert		Craig	1731	1735
Keith	Robert			1766	1769
Kendal		Captain		1741	1742
Kennedy	David	Earl 10th	Cassilis	1749	1792
Kennedy	Thomas	Sir	Collain	1755	?
Kennedy	Archibald	Captain		1753	1755
Kennedy		Baron		1729	1744
Ker	James		Moriston	1752	1765
Ker	John	Duke 3rd	Roxburgh	1772	1797
Ker			Boughtrig	1788	1797
Ker	George			1729	1730
Ker	William			1731	1732
Ker	Robert	Lord		1740	1740
Kerr	Patrick		Abbotrule	1772	1785
Kerr	James		Blackshiels	1773	1797
Kerr	William	Earl	Ancram	1782	1785
Kilpatrick	William			1729	1732
Kincaid yr	Alexander			1774	1778
Kinloch	Alexander			1750	1755
Kinloch	David	Sir	Gilmerton	1764	1797
Kinloch	Gordon			1774	1784
Kinnaird	George	Lord	Kinnaird	1784	1797
Kirkpatrick	William			1744	1775
Lanscet?	Gilbert			1745	?
Lassells				1742	1743
Lauder	James		Carolside	1789	1797
Law	William	Professor		1739	1740
Learmont	John	Doctor		1729	1744
Leslie	John	Earl 10th	Roths	1730	1736
Lessly		Major-General		1783	1795
Lessly	John			1791	1797
Lessley	Charles			1728	1742
Lessley	James			1730	1736
Lessly	William			1728	1743
Lessly	Thomas			1728	1739
Lighton				?	1749
Lind	James	Doctor		1771	1776
Lindsay	Patrick			1771	1775
Lindsay	Alexander	Earl 6th	Balcarres	1774	1781
Lindsey	Patrick			1731	1737
Livingston	John			1749	?
Loch	William			1748	1760
Loch	George		Drylaw	1777	?
Lockhart	George		Carnwath	1728	1744
Lockhart	John		Lee	1728	1734
Lockhart	James	Captain	Castlehill	1766	1797
Lockhart		General Lee		1774	1791
Lockhart	Alexander			1768	1771
Lockhart	Charles		Muiravonside	?	1795
Long		Colonel		1728	1743

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Lowis	John	Doctor		1736	1748
Lumsdain	Robert			1728	1737
Lumsdain	John			1728	1762
Lumsdain	Charles			1739	1741
Lumsden	William			1778	1794
Lumsden	John			?	1773
Lundin	James			1731	1734
Macdonald	Alexander	Lord	MacDonald	1778	1792
MacDonald	Hector			1793	1797
Macdoual	Patrick			?	1745
Macdoual	Peter			1741	?
Macdowall	William		Garthland	1793	1797
Mackay	George	Lord 3rd	Reay	1739	1740
Mackay	George			?	1741
Mackenzie	Kenneth			?	1744
Mackenzie	John		Dolphington	1770	1777
Mackenzie	Henry			1771	1797
Mackenzie	George			1741	1744
Mackenzie	Alexander	Sir	Coul	1794	1797
Mackie	John		Balgowan	1741	1743
Macknight	James			1793	1794
MacMillan	Duncan			1778	?
Maconachie	Allan	Lord	Meadowbank	?	1797
MacQueen	Robert	Lord	Braxfield	1778	1779
Maitland	John			1728	1734
Maitland	Charles	Earl 6th	Lauderdale	1728	1744
Maitland	Charles		Pittrichie	1740	1751
Maitland	(John) Hay Bushby		Eccles	1791	1797
Maitland	James	Lord	Maitland	1780	?
Maitland	James	Earl 8th	Lauderdale	1793	1795
Mansfield yr	James			1792	1797
Maule	John	Baron		1734	1778
Maxwell	Alexander			1748	1776
Maxwell	John		Williamwood	1744	1751
Maxwell	William	Sir	Monreith	1772	1797
Maxwell	George			1756	1758
Maxwell	William	Lieut-Colonel		1793	1797
McArthur Stewart	Archibald			1778	1797
McDonald	William			1787	1792
McDonald	Charles Lockhart		Largie	1792	?
McDonald	Alexander	Sir		1733	1739
McDonald	Alexander	Sir		1775	?
McDonald	Archibald			1775	1797
McDonald	John		Clanranald	1789	1797
McDoual	Patrick			1744	?
Mcdoual	William		Castle Semple	1750	1778
McDougal	George			?	1737
McDowal yr			Castle Semple	1777	?
McFarlane	John			1728	1743
McGhie	John			1730	1730
McGill	John			1728	1731
McGowan	John			1755	1793
McKenzie	Alexander			1728	1731
McKenzie	Kenneth			1731	1752
McKenzie	John		Dolphinton	1770	1786
McKenzie	Alexander			1789	1793
McKenzie	James	Sir	Royston	1735	1737
McKenzie	John			1762	1775
McKenzie	Muir			1784	1792
McKenzie yr	John			1780	1784

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

McKnight	Thomas	Reverend		1791	1797
McKye	John			1731	1735
McLauchlan	Donald			1782	1791
McLaurin	Colin			1728	1736
McLeod	Norman	Laird		1735	1737
McLeod	Donald		Ganzies	1770	1771
McLeod			McLeod	1774	1775
McLeod	William	Lord	Bannatyne	1781	1797
McMillan	Alexander			1749	1770
McMillan	Duncan			1773	1779
McTavish	Lauchlann			1791	1797
Melville	Alexander	Lord	Balgonie	1777	1797
Melville	David	Earl 6th	Leven	1755	1777
Melville		Major		1779	1788
Melville	Alexander	Earl 5th	Leven	1739	1745
Menzies	Archibald		Culdares	1750	1784
Menzies		Commissioner		?	1777
Miller	Patrick		Dalswinton	1775	1781
Miller	Alexander			1778	1792
Miller	William			1779	1797
Miller	Thomas	Sir		1763	1775
Milne	John		Fearn	1790	1795
Mitchelson	Samuel			1731	1788
Mitchelson	John		Midleton	1731	1737
Moir	Alexander			1783	1792
Moncreiff	David Stewart			1759	1778
Moncreiff(e)	Baron Stewart		Moredun	?	1790
Montagu Douglas Scott	Henry	Duke	Buccleuch	1771	1797
Montgomerie	Alexander	Earl 10th	Eglinton	1745	1769
Montgomery	James			1750	1775
Montgomery	James			1791	1797
Moodie	Stewart			1788	1797
Morrison	George			1755	1760
Morrison		Major		1786	1797
Muir-Mackenzie	Alexander			1793	1797
Munkley				1742	1745
Munro	Donald			1749	1750
Mure (Muir)	George			1752	1783
Murray	Patrick		Cherrytrees	1753	1755
Murray	John?	Earl 4th	Dunmore	1758	1792
Murray	Patrick			1775	1780
Murray	William		Touchaddam	1775	1779
Murray			Blackbarony	1783	?
Murray	Hugh		Kynynghmond	?	1742
Murray	Adam	Doctor		1752	1754
Murray	Patrick	Lord 5th	Elibank	1756	1778
Murray	Robert	Colonel		1763	1771
Murray	George	Lord 6th	Elibank	1778	1782
Murray	Sam			1794	1797
Murray yr	John		Philiphaugh	1751	1769
Murray yr	Patrick		Auchtertyre	1795	1797
Nairne	William	Lord	Dunfinnan	1760	1797
Nasmith	James	Sir	Possa	1730	1737
Napier	Francis	Lord 8th	Napier	1779	1792
Napier	William	Lord 7th	Napier	?	1774
Narvil				1744	1744
Nasmith	Robert			1782	1788
Nasmith	John			1740	1742
Nasmith	James	Sir		1766	1770

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Nicolson	James			1742	1743
Nisbet	William		Dirleton	1742	1783
Nisbet yr	William		Dirleton	1772	1797
Norton	Fletcher	Baron		1776	1797
Ogilvie	Archibald		Inchmartin	1762	1780
Ogilvie	George			1772	1781
Ogilvie	Adam			1786	1786
Ogilvie	Patrick		Inchmartin	1738	1741
Oliphant	Robert		Rossie	1743	1789
Oliphant yr	James Stewart		Rossie	1789	?
Oliver	William		Dimlebyres	1763	?
Orde	Robert	Rt. Hon		1756	1778
Orme	Alexander		Mugdrum	1755	1758
Oswald			Dunnikier	?	1743
Oswald	George		Auchincruive	1793	1797
Oughton	Adolphus	General		1767	1780
Park	Alexander	Captain		1786	1791
Patrick	Simon			1737	1738
Philips				1776	?
Phillip	Richard		Ilestone	1778	1797
Porter	Francis	Doctor		1755	?
Porter				1752	1756
Primrose	Neil	Earl 3rd	Rosebery	1758	?
Primrose		Lord	Dalmeny	?	1755
Pringle	Thomas			1728	1735
Pringle	Walter			1728	1741
Pringle	Robert	Lord	Edgefield	1728	1764
Pringle	Robert		Newhall	1728	1740
Pringle	Walter	Lord	Newhall	1728	1736
Pringle	Francis	Doctor		1735	1737
Pringle	John			1762	1797
Pringle	Mark			1783	1788
Pringle	James	Sir	Stichel	1784	1797
Pringle	Thomas	Colonel	Edgefield	1784	1797
Pringle	Joseph			1729	1735
Pringle	John	Lord	Haining	1730	1736
Pringle	John			1730	1775
Pringle	John	Doctor		1735	1742
Pringle	Andrew			1736	1741
Pringle	George			1740	1742
Pringle	Francis			1757	1760
Pringle	James		Torwoodlee	1780	1790
Purves	Alexander			1750	1766
Rae	David	Lord	Eskgrove	1755	1797
Rae	James			1755	1792
Ramsay	John Cumming			1775	1775
Ramsay	Robert			1741	1745
Ramsay	George	Earl 8th	Dalhousie	1775	1787
Ramsay	William	Sir	Bamff	1781	1797
Ramsay	John	Sir		1742	1744
Ramsay	George			1758	?
Ramsay	Cuming			1771	?
Ramsay yr	William			1788	1797
Reay	James			1794	1797
Reid				1742	1744
Rickson		Colonel		1761	1766
Riddel	James		Ardnamurchan	1775	1777
Rigg	Thomas			1735	1739
Robertson	Roger			1750	1782
Robertson	Alexander		Parson's Green	1750	1788

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Robertson	William			1781	1790
Robertson	William		Ladykirk	1783	1797
Robertson	Archibald	Major		1785	1797
Robertson	George			1788	?
Robertson	Charles			1791	?
Robertson	John		Laurieston	1792	1797
Robertson	Robert			1780	?
Robertson	Charles			1793	1797
Robertson-Scott	George			1793	1797
Robinson	George			1793	1797
Rolland	Adam			1794	1797
Rose	Hugh		Kilravock	1728	1767
Ross	David		Innerhasty	1751	1775
Ross	David	Lord	Ankervile	1778	1784
Ross	Munro		Pitcalnie	1774	1782
Ross	Alexander	Colonel		1784	1786
Ross		Captain		?	1739
Ross	Charles		Balnagowan	1741	1742
Ross	Hugh		Guelds	1763	?
Ross	John	Captain		1772	1773
Ross	John Cockburn			1793	1797
Russell	John			1737	1793?
Russell	James			1744	?
Russell	David			1771	1797
Russell	James			1781	1797
Russell	Patrick	Doctor		1773	1773
Russell	Francis			1780	1785
Russell yr	John			1771	1792
Rutherford	John		Edgarten	1773	1783
Rutherford	Daniel	Doctor		1776	1793
Sandie	George			1739	1741
Sandiford				?	1749
Sandilands	Mathew			1776	1792
Sandilands	James	Lord 9th	Torphichen	1785	1789
Sandilands	Walter	Honble		1733	1740
Sandilands	James	Honble	Torphichen	1738	1740
Sands		Major		1785	1791
Scot		Doctor		1728	?
Scot	Thomas			1779	?
Scot (Scott)	John		Craigentiny	1752	1758
Scott	Walter		Harden	1750	1793
Scott	Francis			1772	1786
Scott	John	Sir		1780	1788
Scott	Thomas			?	1789
Scott	Henry			1795	1797
Scott yr	John		Malleny	1784	1792
Scrymgeour	Alexander			1770	1778
Selkirk	Charles			1790	1797
Seton	Hugh		Touch	1750	1785
Sharp	Thomas		Houston	1742	1748
Sharp	Charles		Hoddam	1770	1781
Sinclair	Harry	Captain		1749	1763
Sinclair	George	Lord	Woodhall	1751	1764
Sinclair	John			1744	?
Sinclair	William			1792	1797
Sinclair	Charles			1730	1741
Sinclair	George			1731	1735
Sinclair	John			1731	1732
Sinclair	Robert	Bart.	Stevenson	1734	1736
Sinclair	John			1737	?

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Sinclair	John	Sir	Murkle	1779	1781
Sinclair	Robert			1764	1797
Sivewright	John			1741	1742
Skene	Robert	Colonel		1772	1778
Skie	Captain			1749	1750
Smallot	James	Commissary		1750	1757
Smith			Methven	1791	?
Smith	James			1792	1797
Smith	John		Brousterland	1731	1735
Smith	Robert			1731	1740
Smith	Charles			1744	?
Smith	Adam	Commissioner		1778	1790
Smith	David		Methven	1775	1797
Smyth	Charles			1744	?
Soals		Colonel		1740	1741
Sommers	Richard	Commissioner		1738	1742
Spence	James			1774	1797
Spence	James			1740	1743
Spens	Nathan(iel)			1754	1771
St. Clair	Andrew			1755	1773
St. Clare	Andrew			1731	1744
Stanley				1740	1741
Steuart	David			1793	1797
Stevenson	John	Doctor		1728	1756
Stevenson	Archibald			1742	1763
Stevenson	Alexander	Doctor		1752	1756
Stevenson	James			1755	1772
Stevenson	John	Professor		1738	1741
Stevenson	Alexander			1769	1774
Stevenson	John		Dalguir	?	1797
Stewart	James	Sir		1728	1745
Stewart	Archibald			1728	1731
Stewart	Alexander	Earl 6th	Galloway	1748	1753
Stewart	Francis	Major		1744	1751
Stewart	John	Sir		1744	1755
Stewart	John	Doctor		1745	1759
Stewart	John	Sir		1744	1767
Stewart	Andrew		Auchlunkart	1752	1769
Stewart	Walter			1753	1764
Stewart	James			1772	1780
Stewart	David	Rt. Honble		1772	1797
Stewart	John Shaw			1774	1789
Stewart	George		Grandtully	1777	1786
Stewart	John			1731	1749
Stewart	James			1762	1773
Stewart	Andrew			1770	1780
Stewart	McArthur			1775	?
Stewart	James			1782	?
Stewart	James			1793	1797
Stewart yr			Allanbank	1780	1790
Stirling	James		Larbert	1773	1797
Strachan	David			1749	1756
Strachan	Francis			1771	1797
Stuart	James	Earl 8th	Moray	1744	1767
Stuart	James	Lord	Doun(e)	1736	?
Stuart	Francis			1741	?
Suttie	George	Sir	Balgonie	1756	1783
Swinton	John			1752	1785
Swinton	Archibald	Captain		1767	1774
Swinton yr	John		Swinton	1785	1789

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Sym yr	Robert			1776	1797
Tait	Alexander			1750	1781
Tait	William			1780	1797
Telfer	Alexander		Symington	1771	?
Thomson	Robert			1742	?
Thomson	John			1791	1795
Thomson	John Deas			1795	1797
Threipland		Doctor		1742	1744
Threipland	Patrick			1793	1797
Threipland yr			Fingask	1784	?
Tod	Archibald			1785	1788
Tod	Thomas			1789	1797
Tod(d)	William			1750	?
Trotter	Robert		Castlelaw & Bush	1785	1797
Trotter	Thomas			1785	1797
Trotter	Archibald			1745	1748
Trotter		Captain		?	1776
Trotter yr	John		Mortonhall	1774	1797
Turnbull	James			1793	1797
Tytler	William			1737	1792
Tytler yr	Alexander Fraser			1772	1797
Udney	Alexander		Udney	1742	1790
Urquhart yr	James		Meldrum	1782	1785
Van Hogarth				1749	1750
Vaughan				1730	1731
Waite	William			1774	1786
Walker	Alexander			1788	1797
Wallace	William			1755	1781
Wallace	George			1766	1793
Wallace	Thomas	Sir		1773	1779
Wardrop		Doctor		1782	1785
Warrender	George		Bruntsfield	1728	1735
Watson	James		Saughton	1728	1729
Watt	Adam			1728	1734
Wauchop	William			1741	1742
Wauchope	James		Edmondstone	1728	1768
Wauchope yr	John		Edmondstone	1767	1792
Weatherill				1742	1744
Wedderburn	Peter	Lord	Chesterhall	1728	1756
Wedderburn	Alexander			1752	1758
Wellwood	Robert		Garvock	1774	1782
Welsh	John			1771	1779
Welsh	Henry			1790	1797
Wemyss		Colonel	Wemyss	1780	1797
Wemyss	James	Honble	Wemyss	1756	1786
Wharton	Thomas	Commissioner		1766	1779
White	John			1781	1787
Whiteford	John	Sir		1736	1739
Whiteford	John	Sir		1750	1797
Whyt	Robert			1772	1776
Wight	Alexander			1750	1793
Wild	John			1788	1790
Wiliamson	David			1795	1797
Wilkie	Thomas			1742	1744
Williamson	Joseph			1728	1774
Williamson			Cardrona	1743	1744
Williamson	John			1752	?
Williamson	David			1795	1797
Wishart	George	Principal		1749	1753
Wishart	George	Rev. Dr.		1749	1778

Appendix C – List of members of the Society

Wood	Alexander			1777	1797
Wood	George			1785	1797
Wood	Andrew			1778	1797
Wordie	John			1773	1779
Wright	Thomas			1776	1791
Wyvill		Commissioner		1735	1738
Young	John			1728	1744
Young	Thomas	Doctor		1762	?
Young	Alexander		Harburn	1792	1797
		Lord	Linton	1728	1740
		Earl	Kilmarnock	1728	1731
		Lord	Boyd	1750	1771
		Master	Ross	1741	1754
		Lord	Hope	1769	1778
		Lord	Daire	1786	1797
		Lord	Cranston	1731	1739
		Lord	Hope	1731	1732
		Lord	Menzies	1736	1740
		Lord	Banff	?	1750
		Earl	Findlater	1764	1770
		Lord	Kilmaurs	1774	1775
		Lord	Colvie	1776	?
		Lord	Swinton	?	1785
		Lord	Down	1793	1797

Appendix D – Musicians employed by the Society

The list consists of those musicians who appeared in the accounts of the Society for some or all of the years given; the dates do not imply continuous service. The dates indicate the years in which the musician was paid, and not necessarily the exact year in which he or she was employed, as the Minutes only occasionally noted a precise date. First names and instruments are given if known, otherwise sex is indicated by title.

<i>Last name</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Employment dates</i>	
Abby	Mr		1782	1782
Addison	John	violin	1769	1788
Aitken	John	singer	1762	1777
Alphe/ Alphy	Mr	bassoon	1769	1778
Arrigoni	Ferdinando	violin	1763	1772
Avolio	Christina Maria	singer	1739	1742
Baldassare	Benedetto	singer	1733	1734
Barnard	Mr	violin	1787	1794
Barsanti	Francesco	flute, oboe, violin	1736	1743
Bremner	James	violin	1756	1760
Bremner	Robert	violin, guitar	1756	1762
Brunetti	Michel		1763	1764
Carline	Miss	singer	1788	1789
Clark(e)	Stephen	organ, harpsichord	1769	1796
Collet	Catherine	singer	1763	1776
Collet	John	singer	1763	1775
Corri	Natale		1792	1795
Corri	Mrs	singer	1771	1785
Corri	Domenico	harpsichord, violin	1771	1785
Craig	Adam	violin	1727	1742
Cranmer	Mr	singer	1772	1782
Cremonini	Clementina	singer	1762	1763
Crown	Mr		1752	1753
Cubie	Mr		1790	1792
De Asti	Mr.		1788	1788
Doria	Felice	harpsichord, organ	1763	1769
Doria	Mme	singer	1763	1769
Dow	Daniel	violin	1765	1782
Dunsmure	John	singer	1768	1772
Eales	Richard	singer	1759	1763
Fenton	Mr		1743	1744
Forbes	Mr	singer	1788	1788
Franks	Mr		1768	1770
Fraser	Thomas	oboe	1791	1794
Fyfe	John	singer	1760	1760
Gairdner	Andrew		1778	1780
Gallo	Mr		1785	1785
Gaudry	Mr	singer	?	1782
Gilson	Cornforth	singer	1756	1778
Giolivetti	Miss	singer	1793	1795
Giornovich	Mr	violin	1790	1790
Gordon	Mrs	singer	1758	1761
Gow	William	singer	1788	1788
Gow	Nathaniel	violin, cello	1782	1794
Graham	Mr	singer	1768	1772

Appendix D – Musicians employed by the Society

Granier	Mr	violin	1752	1753
Guidon	Mme	singer	1789	1789
Hamilton	James	singer	1771	1783
Hamilton	Thomas		1787	1788
Hanson	Mathias		1775	1775
Hertzog	Mr		1772	1772
Hutton	Robert	violin	1758	1758
Ireland	Peter	violin	1729	1731
Kearcher	John Philip	cello	1754	1769
Kerchner	George		1774	1780
Larini	Mr	violin, harpsichord	1742	1744
Lesley	Patrick		1783	1787
Lind	Mr		1780	1781
Logan	Mr		1783	1783
Luciani	Mr	singer	1770	1772
Mahon	John	clarinet	1786	1794
Marin(e)	James	trumpet, violin	1745	1785
Mazzanti	Mariana	singer	1757	1765
McDougal	John	violin	1748	1757
McFarlane	William	clarinet	1774	1775
McGibbon	William	violin	1727	1756
McGlashan	Alexander	violin	1774	1794
McIntosh	Robert	violin	1776	1794
McLean	Mr		1737	1738
McPherson	John	violin	1731	1783
McPherson	William	violin	1729	1731
Merideth	Mr		1782	1785
Miller	James	bassoon	1781	1793
Montier	Mr	singer	1737	1749
Monti	Hurka de	singer	1789	1790
Morphie	Mr	singer	1728	1729
Mozen	Mr		1759	1759
Mushet	George	clarinet, flute	1774	1794
Napier	James		1778	1792
Napier	Alexander	trumpet	1759	1792
Napier	William	trumpet	1781	1794
Napier	Hugh		1770	1773
Napier jun	Alexander	clarinet	1791	1794
Neil	Mr	singer	1768	1772
Olivieri	Martino	violin	1757	1765
Palma	Philip	singer	1741	1743
Pasquali	Nicolo	violin, cello, singer	1753	1757
Pasqualino	Peter?	violin/cello	1738	1740
Passerini	Giuseppe	violin, singer	1751	1753
Passerini	Cristina	singer	1751	1753
Pearson	John	singer	1758	1759
Pescatori	Leonardo	organ, harpsichord	1753	1761
Pinto	Thomas	violin	1771	1773
Polani	Mr	violin	1744	1755
Pulli	Mr	violin	1733	1734
Puppo	Giuseppe	violin	1775	1782
Puppo	Mme	singer	1775	1782
Reich	Christian	violin, bassoon	1732	1742
Reinagle jun.	Joseph	violin, cello	1773	1793

Appendix D – Musicians employed by the Society

Reinagle sen.	Joseph	trumpet	1760	1775
Reoch	John	violin	1751	1753
Rochetti	Philip	singer	1744	1753
Rodburn	Catherine	singer	1754	1758
Rocke	Mr	violin	1760	1763
Rose	John Henry		1784	1785
Ross	Robert	cello	1769	1794
Ryder	Miss	singer	1791	1791
Salomon	Johann Peter	violin	1785	1785
Schetky	Joseph	cello	1772	1794
Schroetter	Mr		1737	1737
Scott	Mr	singer	1771	1772
Sestini	Giovanna	singer	1791	1792
Shaw	Maxwell	violin, singer	1788	1790
Sheniman	Charles	harpsichord	1773	1779
Sibilla	Mme	singer	1743	1743
Sippe	Mr		1787	1787
Smeiton	John	violin	1756	1778
Stabilini	Girolamo	violin	1784	1794
Stacqueler	Mr		1791	1791
Stevenson	John	double-bass	1762	1762
Stewart	Alexander	violin	1727	1790
Stewart	Mrs.	singer	1786	1790
Sultani	Mme	singer	1787	1788
Tecklenburg	George		1767	1768
Tenducci	Giusto Ferdinando	singer	1768	1769
Thomson	John	cello	1753	1781
Thomson	Andrew	violin	1781	1787
Thomson	John		1786	1794
Thomson	James	singer	1788	1788
Thomson	William		1792	1794
Torregiani	Mr		1788	1788
Udall	Miss	singer	1734	1739
Urbani	Pietro	singer	1785	1795
Velplone	Matthew	French horn	1757	1757
Vernour	Mr		1734	1734
Walker	Joseph		1791	1793
Watlen	John		1787	1792
Watson	Mr	singer	1769	1769
Wiggans	Mr		1785	1789
Wilson	M	singer	1779	1780
Wood	James	bassoon	1776	1776
Woodman	Hester	singer	1768	1769

The following were approached by the Society, but did not come to Edinburgh:

Signor Callani (singer?) 1734

Mme. Barbarini (singer), 1737

Ignaz Franzl (violinist) 1771

PierreVachon (violinist) 1773

Miss Georgina George (singer) 1788 (see Chapter 5)

Miss Cecilia Davies (singer) 1791

Appendix E – Year-by-year balance of the Musical Society accounts

The table shows the financial state of the Musical Society at the end of each accounting year, which for the Society was the month of June.

Points which should be noted:

1. In 1727-8 only, the subscription was one pound. After that year it rose to one guinea (one pound one shilling).
2. From 1732, subscriptions were paid in June and in November. The annual amount then was therefore two guineas.
3. Where there are two numbers in the membership column, they are the membership figures for June and November.
4. There was only one set of accounts presented for the two years 1735-37. (Minutes, vol. I, pp. 54-55.)
5. The starred sums in the years 1734-35 and 1739-40 indicate loans taken out by the Society. They are discussed in Chapter 3.
6. The totals in the final column marked § after 1751 include the sum of £58-16-0 contributed specially for the purchase of an organ. This sum was always included in the general funds, and must be taken into account in any assessment of the Society's monetary situation at that time. The sum had risen with interest to £69-15-6 by 1773.
7. Funeral concerts are included under public concerts because tickets were sold for them, and the income appeared in the accounts.
8. The Society put funds left at the end of each season towards the next. It was not a profit-making body, and regarded any such funds as 'balance in hand'. (See the detailed accounts in Chapter 3.)

Date	Musicians employed	No. of members	Total s'scriptions	No. of public concerts	Balance in hand
1727-8	3	61	£61	11	£21-16-4
1728-9	4	67	£70-7-0	7	£13-7-6
1729-30	5	70	£73-10-0	7	£1-1-10
1730-1	5	80	£84	8	£0-9-8
1731-2	5	100	£210	9	£85-15-0
1732-3	6	100	£210	7	£98-15-3
1733-4	8	100	£210	7	-£36-13-6
1734-5	8	100	£210	5	£6-2-6 *£60
1735-7	8	100	£420	6+5	£39-18-8
1737-8	7	100	£210	8	£35-4-2
1738-9	9	100	£210	9	-£4-1-7
1739-40	9	100	£210	7	-£71-17-0 *£70
1740-1	7	104	£214-4-0	5	-£40-14-3
1741-2	7-8	104	£214-4-0	5	-£4-2-1
1742-3	6-7	83, 100	£192-3-0	4	£-0-8-4
1743-4	5	100	£105 ¹	4	£29-6-11
1744-5	6	95, 100	£204-15-0	4	£76-15-2
1745-6	6	100	£105	3	£32-19-3

¹ There was no call for subscriptions in November 1743, and no reason given. EMS Minutes, vol. I, p. 98. The same applies to the figure for 1745-6 (ibid., p. 106).

Appendix E – Year-by-year balance of the Musical Society accounts

Date	Musicians employed	No. of members	Total s'criptions	No. of public concerts	Balance in hand
1746-7	6	96, 97	£202-13-0	4	£114-0-0
1747-8	6	75	£157-10-0	4	£62-17-1
1748-9	7	83, 89	£180-12-0	3	£94-9-11
1749-50	6	89, 107	£205-16-0	4	£96-0-0
1750-1	9	112	£235-4-0	5	£105-14-5 §(£58-16/- organ contrihs.)
1751-2	9	112	£235-4-0	4	£89-16-8§
1752-3	11/12	130	£282-15-0	3	£115-13-6§
1753-4	10	130	£273-0-0	4	£126-12-8§
1754-5	10	130	£273-0-0	3	£131-5-8§
1755-6	13	150	£315-0-0	3+1 funeral	£142-13-9§
1756-7	14	150	£315-0-0	3	£155-18-2§
1757-8	13	150	£315-0-0	3	£155-18-3§
1758-9	15	150	£393-15-0	3	£217-5-6§
1759-60	18	150	£393-15-0	3	£243-4-6§
1760-1	14	150	£472-10-0	3	£317-10-6§
1761-2	16	150	£472-10-0	1	£149-10-8§
1762-3	13	170	£535-10-0	1	£348-10-8§
1763-4	16	170, 180	£551-15-0	1	£403-15-3§
1764-5	13	180	£567-0-0	1	£500-7-2§
1765-6	11	180	£567-0-0	1	£324-16-2§
1766-7	13	180	£567-0-0	1	£352-0-7§
1767-8	17	180	£567-0-0	1	£364-3-3§
1768-9	15	180	£567-0-0	2	£296-10-1§
1769-70	15	180	£567-0-0	2	£412-10-4§
1770-1	14	180	£567-0-0	1	£310-16-1§
Jun-Nov 1771	16	180	£283-10-0		£228-1-6§
Nov '71-Jun '72	15	180, 190	£299-5-0	2+1 funeral	£123-0-11§
1772-3	23	200	£735-0-0	3	£109-2-0§
1773-4	24	200	£735-0-0	3	-£43-19-7
1774-5	22	200	£735-0-0	1	-£116-17-9
1775-6	21	200	£735-0-0	3	-£257-6-3
1776-7	22	200	£735-0-0	2	-£113-10-10
1777-8	23	200	£735-0-0	1	-£80-16-0
1778-9	18	200, 192	£718-4-0	1	-£30-0-7
Jun '79-Dec'79	17	189	£297-13-6	0	-£18-7-3
Dec'79-Jun'80	18	190	£399-0-0	0	-£21-16-1
Jun-Dec '80	17	197	£310-5-6	0	-£52-1-8
Dec'80-Jun'81	18	196	£411-12-0	1	-£11-12-1
Jun-Nov'81	15	200	£315-0-0	0	-£44-5-3
Nov'81-Jun'82	17	200	£420-0-0	1 funeral	£6-9-4

Appendix E – Year-by-year balance of the Musical Society accounts

Date	Musicians employed	No. of members	Total s'scriptions	No. of public concerts	Balance in hand
Jun-Nov'82	20	200	£315-0-0	1	-£44-16-6
Nov'82-Jun'83	18	200	£420-0-0	1	-£15-7-8
Jun-Nov'83	14	200	£315-0-0	0	-£48-6-4
Nov'83-Jun'84	18	200	£420-0-0	1	-£7-18-6
Jun-Dec'84	18	200	£315-0-0	0	-£71-1-3
Dec'84-Jun'85	19	200	£420-0-0	0	-£5-4-2
Jun-Dec'85	21	200	£315-0-0	1	-£18-6-8
Dec'85-Jun'86	18	200	£420-0-0	1	£13-11-8
Jun-Dec'86	17	200	£315-0-0	0	-£32-19-9
Dec'86-Jun'87	17	200	£420-0-0	0	£12-6-5
Jun-Nov'87	17	200	£315-0-0	0	£1-4-5
Nov'87-Jun'88	17/18	200	£420-0-0	0	-£27-5-5
Jun-Dec'88	21	200	£315-0-0	0	-£87-5-4
Dec'88-Jun'89	18	200	£420-0-0	0	£14-15-1
Jun-Dec'89	16/17	200	£315-0-0	0	£20-8-0
Dec'89-Jun'90	18	200	£420-0-0	1	£7-19-9
Jun'90-Jan'91	16	200	£315-0-0	0	-£25-1-8
Jan-Jul '91	19	200	£420-0-0	0	£108-3-10
Jul-Dec'91	12	200	£315-0-0	0	£115-2-8
Dec'91-Jul'92	17	200	£420-0-0	2	-£70-10-8
Jul'92-Jan'93	17/18	200	£315-0-0	0	£37-5-1
Jan-Jul'93	19	200	£420-0-0	0	£75-6-3
Jul'93-Jan'94	15	200	£315-0-0	0	£23-16-4
Jan-Jun'94	13	200	£420-0-0	0	£41-0-4
Jun'94-Feb'95	15	200	£315-0-0	0	£48-12-2
Feb-Jul'95	12	200	£420-0-0	1 funeral	£102-3-0
Jul-Aug '95 '95	Not noted	200	£315-0-0	---	£419-5-0 ²

² Half of the pages for this accounting period are missing, and the total does not give a true picture of the Society's situation (see Chapter 7).

Appendix F – Music played in the concerts listed in the Plan Books

The table contains the titles of works or collections of works which are known to have been played in the Musical Society's concerts in the years 1768-1771 and 1778-1786. They are named as in the Plan Books.

<i>Name of composer</i>	<i>Name of work</i>	<i>Op.</i>
Abel	Overtures	1
Abel	Overtures	2
Abel	Overtures	4
Abel	Overtures	7
Abel	Overtures	10
Abel	Overtures	14
Abel	Quartettos	7
Abel	Quartettos	8
Abel	Quartettos	12
Abel	Periodical Overture no. 16	
Abel, Giardini & Bach	Quartettos	
Arne	Overture: Artaxerxes	
Avison	Concertos	2
Avison	Concertos	3
Avison	Concertos	4
Avison	Concertos	6
Avison	Concertos	8
Avison	Concertos	9
Bach, J.C.	Overtures	1
Bach, J.C.	Overtures	3
Bach, J.C.	Overtures	8
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Alessandro	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Astarto	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Orione	
Bach, J.C.	Periodical Overture no. 1	
Bach, J.C.	Periodical Overture no. 15	
Barsanti	Concertos da Notturmi from Sammartini	6
Barthélemon	Concertos	7
Boccherini	Quintettos	12
Boccherini	Quintettos	20
Boccherini	Periodical Overture no. 54	
Boccherini	Periodical Overture no. 55	
Borghi	Solo concertos	7
Cambini	Quatuors	3
Cambini	Quatuors	7
Cambini	Quatuors	10
Cambini	Quatuors	11
Cambini	Quatuors	13
Cambini	Concertos	
Cambini	Symphonies Concertantes	
Campioni	Sonatas	
Cannabich	Periodical Overture no. 10	
Ciampi	Overtures	5
Cocchi &c	Overtures	
Corelli	Sonatas	3
Corelli	Concertos	5
Corelli	Concertos	6
Corri	Overture	
Cramer	Concerto for violin	

Appendix F – Music played in the concerts listed in the Plan Books

Cramer	Sonata for pianoforte	
Crispi	Periodical Overture no. 5	
Davaux	Concertos	5
Davaux	Quartettos	6
Davaux	Symphonie Concertante	7
Davaux	Concertos	7
Giardini	Trios	17
Giardini	Trios	20
Giardini	Overture: Astarto	
Dittersdorf	Periodical Overture no. 38	
Eichner	Concertos	1
Festing	Concertos	3
Festing	Concertos	5
Festing	Concertos	9
Filtz	Periodical Overture no. 4	
Filtz	Periodical Overture no. 8	
Filtz	Periodical Overture no. 30	
Filtz	Overtures	
Fischer	Concerto	
Galuppi	Overtures	
Geminiani	Concertos	2
Geminiani	Concertos	3
Geminiani	Concertos	4
Geminiani	Concertos	6
Geminiani	Concertos	7
Geminiani	Concertos from Corelli's solos	
Giordani	Overtures	
Giornovich	Solo concertos	
Gluck	Periodical Overture no. 60	
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 32	
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 34	
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 34	
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 35	
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 36	
Gossec	Symphonies	
Graaf	Quartets	
Graun &c	Overtures	
Guglielmi	Periodical Overture no. 31	
Handel	Grand Adagio and Musette	
Handel	Concertos for hautboys	3
Handel	Concertos for organ	4
Handel	Grand Concertos	6
Handel	Concertos for organ	7
Handel	Water Musick	
Handel	Overture: Acis & Galatea	
Handel	Overture: Admetus (1 st)	
Handel	Overture: Admetus (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Alcina	
Handel	Overture: Alexander	
Handel	Overture: Alexander's Feast	
Handel	Overture: Alexander Severus	
Handel	Overture: Amadis (1 st)	
Handel	Overture: Amadis (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Ariadne	
Handel	Overture: Berenice	

Appendix F – Music played in the concerts listed in the Plan Books

Handel	Overture: Deidamia	
Handel	Overture: Esther	
Handel	Overture: Hercules	
Handel	Overture: In Scena d'Inferno	
Handel	Overture: Joshua	
Handel	Overture: Judas Maccabaeus	
Handel	Overture: Messiah	
Handel	Overture: Occasional Oratorio	
Handel	Overture: Otho	
Handel	Overture: Pastor Fido (1 st)	
Handel	Overture: Pastor Fido (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Pharamond	
Handel	Overture: Ptolomy	
Handel	Overture: Radamistus	
Handel	Overture: Rinaldo	
Handel	Overture: Rodelinda	
Handel	Overture: Samson	
Handel	Overture: Saul (1 st)	
Handel	Overture: Saul (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Siroe	
Handel	Overture: Solomon (1 st)	
Handel	Overture: Solomon (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Sosarmes	
Handel	Overture: Susanna	
Handel	Overture: Tamerlane	
Handel	Overture: Theseus	
Handel	Overture: Xerxes	
Hasse, Vinci &c	Overtures	
Hasse, Vinci &c	Overture: Polifemo	
Hasse, Porpora &c	Overture: Arianna	
Haydn	Quatuors	1
Haydn	Quatuors	2
Haydn	Quatuors	5
Haydn	Quatuors	7
Haydn	Overtures in C, D, E & F	
Haydn	Overture in G	
Haydn	Overtures	10
Haydn, M & J	Periodical Overture no. 40	
Haydn, M	Periodical Overture no. 56	
Hebden	Concertos	2
Hellendaal	Grand Concertos	3
Herschel	Periodical Overture no. 26	
Holzbauer	Periodical Overture no. 29	
Jomelli	Overture: Attilio Regolo	
Jomelli	Periodical Overture no. 14	
Kammell	Overtures	10
Kelly	Overture no. 1	
Kelly	Overture no. 2	
Kelly	Symphony no. 3	
Kelly	Overture no. 4	
Kelly	Symphony no. 5	
Kelly	Concerto no. 6	
Kelly	Overture: Ezio	
Kelly	Overture in m.s.	
Kelly	Quatuors	

Appendix F – Music played in the concerts listed in the Plan Books

Kelly	Periodical Overture no. 13	
Kelly	Periodical Overture no. 17	
Kelly	Periodical Overture no. 25	
Kelly	Periodical Overture no. 28	
Koczwara	Periodical Overtures	10
Lidel	Quartettos	2
Maldere	Overtures	1
Maldere	Overtures	4
Maldere	Concertos	7
Pasquali	Symphonies & Overtures	
Piccinni	Periodical Overture no. 20	
Piccinni	Periodical Overture no. 21	
Piccinni	Periodical Overture no. 22	
Piccinni	Periodical Overture no. 23	
Porpora	Overture: Ariadne	
Pugnani	Quartetti	
Pugnani	Quintetti	
Pugnani	Concerto	
Pugnani	Periodical Overture no. 19	
Ricci	Periodical Overture no. 2	
Ricci	Periodical Overture no. 24	
Ricci	Concertante Symphonies	9
Ricci	Overtures	2
Ricciotti	Concertos	
Richter	Overtures	1
Richter	Overtures	2
Richter	Overtures	3
Richter	Overtures	4
Richter	Concertos	
Richter	Symphonie Concertante	
Richter	Periodical Overture no. 18	
Rigel	Symphonies	
Sacchini	Quartetts	2
Sammartini, G.B.	Sonatas called Notturmi	
Sammartini, G.B.	Concerto	
Sammartini, G.B.	Concertos	2
Sammartini, G.	Concertos	2
Sammartini, G.	Concertos	5
Sammartini, G.	Overtures	7
Sammartini, G.	Grand Concertos	8
Sammartini, G.	Overtures	10
Sammartini, G.	Grand Concertos	11
Schetky	Trios	2
Schetky	Solos violoncello	4
Schetky	Overture	
Schetky	Simphonia Concertante	
Schetky	Pastorale	
Schetky	Concerto	
Schetky	Pastorale on the Nativity	
Schetky	Quartetts	
Schmitt	Symphony	
Schmitt	Periodical Overture no. 51	
Schwindl	Overtures	1
Schwindl	Overtures	2
Schwindl	Overtures	3

Appendix F – Music played in the concerts listed in the Plan Books

Schwindl	Symphonies	1
Schwindl	Periodical Overture no. 39	
Shaw	Concertos	
Sirmen	Solo Concertos	3
Smethergell	Symphonies	
Stabilini	Concerto in D	
Stamitz, C	Trios	1
Stamitz, C	Concerto	
Stamitz, C	Quartetts	2
Stamitz, C	Symphonies	
Stamitz, C	Symphonies	13
Stamitz, J	Orchestral trios	
Stamitz, J	Periodical Overture no. 3	
Stamitz, J	Periodical Overture no. 6	
Stamitz, J	Periodical Overture no. 7	
Stamitz, J	Periodical Overture no. 9	
Stamitz, J	Periodical Overture no. 11	
Stamitz, J	Periodical Overture no. 12	
Stamitz, J	Periodical Overture no. 41	
Tartini	Concertos	
Unknown	Sinfonia d'Inferno ¹	
Unknown	Overture: Elpidia	
Urbani	Overture to Siege of Gibraltar	
Vachon	Quartetts	5
Vachon	Quartetts	6
Vanhal	Overtures	
Vanhal	Periodical Overture no. 42	
Vanhal	Periodical Overture no. 43	
Vanhal	Periodical Overture no. 47	
Vanhal	Periodical Overture no. 50	
Vanhal	Quartetts	7

¹ This was probably listed in confusion with the Handel overture *In Scena d'Inferno*.

Appendix G – Music Purchases recorded in Society papers

The entries comprise any purchases recorded in the Musical Society Minute Books and items from the accounts contained in the Innes of Stow papers. The date is the year the item appeared in the Society's accounts. All items, including vocal, are included apart from the series of Periodical Overtures which is listed separately in Appendix K, with dates of purchase. Names marked with an asterisk are members or employees of the Society, who occasionally supplied the Society with single items. Otherwise the sources are music sellers in Edinburgh or London, except for John Callander (Newcastle). The entries are given verbatim from the accounts.

n.s.= no source given for the purchase, because the information came from a minute or a letter rather than a receipt or bill.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>
Abel	Overtures 2 copies	1760	Bremner
Abel	New Overtures 2 copies	1762	Bremner
Abel	Op. 1 2 copies	1764	Bremner
Abel	Op. 2 2 copies	1764	Bremner
Abel	Op. 10 4 copies	1773	Bremner
Abel	Overtures 2 copies	1767	Bremner
Abel	Op. 4 Quartets 2 copies	1769	Bremner
Abel	Violin Trios	1772	Bremner
Abel	Symphonies op. 10 4 copies	1773	Bremner
Abel	Harpsichord concerto	1774	Bremner
Abel	Quartets op. 12	1775	Bremner
Abel	Overtures op. 17 2 copies	1784	Bremner
Alcock	Concertos	1757	Bremner
Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i> 3 copies	1762	Bremner
Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i> overture 3 copies	1763	Bremner
Avison	Concertos	1767	Callander
Avison	Concertos 'pub. last spring'	1752	n.s.
Avison	New concertos 2 copies	1755	n.s.
Avison	Sonatas	1765	Callander
Avison	Concertos op. 9	1766	Callander
Avison	Concertos op. 6 2 copies	1758	Bremner
Avison	Concertos op. 7	1767	Bremner
Avison	Last concerto 4 copies	1767	Callander
Bach, J.C.	Op. 3 4 copies	1767	Bremner
Bach, J.C.	Flute quintets	1774	Bremner
Bach, J.C.	<i>Gioas</i>	1773	Bremner
Barbandt	Symphonies	1761	Bremner
Barsanti	Concertos 2 copies	1760	Thos. Trotter*
Barsanti	Concertos	1757	Bremner
Barsanti	ms music	1766	Barsanti*
Barsanti	Concertos da Notturmi	1767	Barsanti
Barthélemon	2 solo concertos	1775	Bremner
Barthélemon	Overtures 2 sets	1775	Bremner
Bassani	Voluntarys	1763	Bremner
Bauch	Harpsichord concerto	1763	Bremner
Bauch	Concertos	1763	Bremner
Berg	Concertos	1755	Bremner
Boccherini	Concerto	1773	Bremner
Boccherini	Quartets	1778	Neil Stewart
Boccherini	Quartets op. 33	1787	Corri & Sutherland

Appendix G – Music Purchases recorded in Society papers

Boyce	Overtures	1760	Bremner
Burney	Concertos 2 copies	1759	Bremner
Campioni	Trios	1759	Bremner
Campioni	Trios	1757	Bremner
Castrucci	Concertos	1757	Bremner
Chilcot	Harpsichord concertos	1762	Bremner
Ciampi	Overtures 2 copies	1754	Bremner
Ciampi	Concertos op. 6	1757	Bremner
Clementi	Symphonies op.18	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Cocchi	Overtures	1762	Bremner
Collett	6 Overtures	1774	Collett*
Corelli	Concertos	1727	n.s.
Corelli	Concertos	1763	Bremner
Dallo	Sonatas	1727	n.s.
Davaux	Symphonies	1778	Neil Stewart
De Fesch	Concertos	1758	Bremner
Ebdon	Sacred music 2 books	1791	n.s.
Felton	Concertos	1752	David Rutherford
Felton	Concertos	1752	Bremner
Festing	Concertos	1734	n.s.
Festing	Concertos	1734	Bremner
Felton	Op. 5 (8 Concertos)	1752	Bremner
Filtz	2 Symphonies	1765 (Mar)	Bremner
Filtz	2 Symphonies	1765 (Aug)	Bremner
Galliard	Hymn	1752	Bremner
Galuppi	Overtures	1761	Bremner
Garth	Concertos 2 copies	1760	Bremner
Geminiani	Concerto	1727	n.s.
Geminiani	Last concerto and Overtures	1729	Walter Pringle*
Geminiani	Concertos	1749	Walter Scott*
Geminiani	Solos	1747	Balfour & Hamilton
Geminiani	Concertos op.3+4 from solos, op. 5+6	1751	Balfour & Hamilton
Geminiani	Op.7	1752	Lauchlan Hunter
Geminiani	Scots tunes	1752	David Rutherford
Geminiani	2 Concertos op. 2	1763	Bremner
Geminiani	3 Concertos op. 3, 2nd edn.	1763	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos op. 4 (solos)	1763	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos op. 7	1763	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos from Corelli's Trios	1764	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos from last solos	1764	Bremner
Germain	Trios 2 sets	1752	Bremner
Giardini	Overtures	1757	Bremner
Giardini	Trios	1773	Bremner
Giardini	Sonatas	1771	Bremner
Giardini	Quartets	1780	Bremner
Giardini	Concertos	1779	Neil Stewart
Giardini	Trios	1779	Neil Stewart
Giardini	Harpsichord lessons	1761	Bremner
Giordani	Harpsichord concerto	1776	Bremner
Glosser	Concertos	1768	Bremner
Greene	Overture	1747	Balfour & Hamilton
Greene	Overture	1753	David Rutherford

Appendix G – Music Purchases recorded in Society papers

Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	1753	n.s.
Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	1753	n.s.
Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> 2 copies	1775	Bremner
Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	1756	n.s.
Handel	<i>Solomon</i>	1757	Bremner
Handel	6 Overtures 9th collection	1747	Balfour & Hamilton
Handel	7 Trios	1747	Balfour & Hamilton
Handel	Songs in parts	1739	Oswald
Handel	Overtures 10th collection	1749	Oswald
Handel	Bass songs	1747	Bremner
Handel	2 songs for French Horn	1750	Bremner
Handel	5 sets of songs from the oratorios	1750	Bremner
Handel	5 sets of songs for the harpsichord	1750	Bremner
Handel	Royal Fireworks Music	1750	Bremner
Handel	12 duetts for 2 voices	1750	Bremner
Handel	12 English duetts	1750	Bremner
Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	1750	Bremner
Handel	Overtures 5th-10th collns.	1751	Lauchlan Hunter
Handel	<i>Samson</i>	1751	Lauchlan Hunter
Handel	Songs from latest oratorios	1751	Balfour & Hamilton
Handel	Grand Concertos 2 sets	1753	David Rutherford
Handel	Bass songs	1754	Bremner
Handel	<i>Deborah</i>	1754	Bremner
Handel	60 Overtures	1755	Bremner
Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> 2 copies	1755	Bremner
Handel	Instr. parts of 160 songs	1755	Bremner
Handel	Vol. 3 2 copies	1755	Bremner
Handel	Vocal parts of songs	1755	Bremner
Handel	Overtures 11th collection	1759	Bremner
Handel	Instr. parts to 6 songs vol. 4	1759	Bremner
Handel	The flocks - a trio	1759	Bremner
Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> 6 books	1759	Bremner
Handel	<i>Samson</i>	1774	Bremner
Handel	Songs no. 17	1759	Bremner
Handel	Songs vol. 5 and instr. parts	1760	Bremner
Handel	60 Overtures 2 copies	1763	Bremner
Handel	Last 6 Overtures	1763	Bremner
Handel	12 Grand Concertos 2 copies	1763	Bremner
Handel	Songs: <i>Cleonic</i>	1763	Bremner
Handel	Voluntarys	1763	Bremner
Handel	2 Concertos 3 sets	1763	Bremner
Handel	Harpsichord Concertos 2nd and 3rd sets	1763	Bremner
Handel	Instr. parts for Concerto op.4	1763	Bremner
Handel	Instr. parts for Concertos op. 7	1763	Bremner
Handel	Hautboy Concertos	1763	Bremner
Handel	Coronation Anthems	1763	Bremner
Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	1763	Bremner
Handel	Vols. 39-83 Arnold edn.	1790	Dr. Arnold
Handel	new edn. 12 copies	1788	John Russell*

Appendix G – Music Purchases recorded in Society papers

Handel	Songs 2 vols.	1788	John Russell*
Handel	<i>Messiah</i> parts	1792	Gilbert Innes*
Hasse	Concertos op. 6	1747	Balfour & Hamilton
Hasse	Salve Regina	1755	Bremner
Haydn	Quartets	1773	Bremner
Haydn	3rd symphony 2 copies	1773	Bremner
Haydn	Quartets	1771	Bremner
Haydn	op. 5	1771	Bremner
Haydn	Quartets op. 33 2 books	1788	Bremner
Haydn	op. 44	1788	Bremner
Haydn	Overture no. 6	1789	Bremner
Haydn	Set dedicated to Duke of York [op. 52]	1789	Bremner
Haydn	Quartets	1778	Alex McGlashan*
Haydn	Symphony	1781	Jos. Reinagle*
Haydn	Overtures 1-8 2 copies	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overtures in A,B,C 2 copies	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overture 'La Chasse' 2 copies	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overtures op. 39 2 copies	1786	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overtures 9 and 10 2 copies	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	<i>Passion of our Saviour</i> 2 copies	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	2 Overtures	1783	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	5 Overtures	1784	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	2 Overtures	1784	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	6 Overtures (with Vanhall)	1784	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Favourite overture in F 3 copies	1783	Bremner
Haydn	Favourite overture in E 3 copies	1783	Bremner
Haydn	Symphonies 7 and 9 2 copies	1794	Corri & Dussek
Haydn	Quartet op. 72	1795	Corri & Dussek
Hebden	Concertos	1749	Wm. McGibbon*
Hebden	Concertos	1751	Lauchlan Hunter
Hellendaal	2 Concertos	1760	Bremner
Hofmeister	Op. 9	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Holzbauer	2 symphonies	1765	Bremner
Holzbauer	2 symphonies	1773	Bremner
Holzbauer	Symphonies 2 copies	1772	Bremner
Hook	Concerto op. 55	1792	Corri & Sutherland
Humphries	Bass concerto	1757	Bremner
Humphries	Trios	1757	Bremner
Humphries	Concertos for trumpets	1757	Bremner
Jackson	Elegy	1765	Bremner
Jomelli	Overtures	1762	Bremner
Kammell	Overtures 2 sets	1776	Bremner
Kelly	2 Overtures	1761	Bremner
Kelly	2 Overtures	1763	Bremner
Kozeluch	Symphonies 3 sets	1789	Corri & Sutherland
Maldere	2 Overtures 2nd set	1775	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms	1759	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 4	1760	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 5	1761	Bremner

Appendix G – Music Purchases recorded in Society papers

Marcello	Psalms vol. 6	1762	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 7	1763	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. ? (prob. 8)	1764	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 1	1757	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 2	1758	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vols. 1 and 2	1766	Bremner
McGibbon	Sonatas	1727	n.s. (prob. McGibbon)
McGibbon	Overtures	1728	n.s. (prob. McGibbon)
McGibbon	Sonatas	1729	n.s. (prob. McGibbon)
McGibbon	Sonatas	1735	n.s. (prob. McGibbon)
McGibbon	Sonatas	1734	McGibbon
McGibbon	Scots tunes	1749	McGibbon
Meder	Symphonies 2 copies (Mar)	1765	Bremner
Meder	Symphonies (Jun)	1765	Bremner
Morigi	2 Concertos	1757	Bremner
Mozart	Quartets op. 10	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Nardini	Concertos	1765	Bremner
Oswald	Minuets	1734	n.s.
Palma	Songs	1752	David Rutherford
Palma	Songs	1754	Bremner
Palma	Songs	1758	Bremner
Pasquali	2 Overtures	1753	Pasquali*
Pasquali	Overture	1752	n.s.
Pasquali Ricci	Symphonies 2 sets	1765	Bremner
Pasquali Ricci	Overtures	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pelegrino	Harpsichord concerto	1763	Bremner
Pieltain	Quartets	1788	John Russell*
Pleyel	Quartet op. 7	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Sonatas	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Overtures 3 and 5 2 copies of each	1789	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quartets op. 2 and 6	1786	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quartets op. 3	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quartets 1st set	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quintets 1st and 2nd sets	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quartets nos. 2,3,4	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	2 Quartets	1784	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Overtures 7 and 8	1795	Corri & Dussek
Porpora	Solos	1747	Balfour & Hamilton
Pugnani	Quintets	1762	Bremner
Pugnani	Quartets 3 copies	1763	Bremner
Pugnani	Quintets	1764	Bremner
Purcell	<i>Orpheus Britannicus</i>	1768	Alexander Stewart*
Purcell	Psalms with interlude	1763	Bremner
Rameau	Concertos	1752	Bremner
Rauzzini	Quartets	1778	Neil Stewart
Regel	Symphony	1781	Jos. Reinagle*
Ricchiotti	Concertos	1756	Bremner
Richter	Harpsichord sonatas	1760	Bremner
Richter	Overtures 2 copies	1760	Bremner
Richter	Overtures op. 4 2 copies	1765	Bremner
Richter	Overtures 2 copies	1765	Bremner
Richter	Overtures 2 copies	1767	Bremner
Rosengrave	Fugues	1766	Bremner

Appendix G – Music Purchases recorded in Society papers

Sammartini, G.B.	3 Concertos	1739	Oswald
Sammartini, G.	Op. 2 and 3	1752	Lauchlan Hunter
Sammartini, G.	Concertos and Overtures	1753	David Rutherford
Sammartini, G.	6 Concertos op. 3	1753	David Rutherford
Sammartini, G.	6 Concertos op. 2	1755	Bremner
Sammartini, G.B.	Nottornos	1762	Bremner
Sammartini, G.	Op. 4 4 copies	1766	Bremner
Sammartini, G.B.	Concertos 2 copies	1757	Bremner
Sammartini, G.B.	Overture	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Schetky	Trios 6 sets	1773	Schetky*
Schroter	Harpsichord Concertos	1774	Bremner
Schwindl	Symphonies	1762	Bremner
Schwindl	Overtures	1763	Bremner
Schwindl	Overtures op. 2 2 copies	1765	Bremner
Schwindl	2 Symphonies	1765	Bremner
Schwindl	Symphony	1765	Bremner
Schwindl	Op. 8 2 copies	1765	Bremner
Schwindl	Quartets	1771	Bremner
Smitz	Overtures	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Spangenberg	2 Overtures	1774	Bremner
Stamitz	Trios 2 copies	1763	Bremner
Stamitz	Trios	1763	Bremner
Stamitz	Quartets	1778	Neil Stewart
Stanley	Cantatas	1747	Balfour & Hamilton
Stanley	Cantatas	1753	Will Rose
Stanley	Concertos	1763	Bremner
Sirmen	Concerto 3 copies	1772	Neil Stewart
Sirmen	2nd Concerto	1772	Bremner
Thomson	Scots songs colln. 10 copies	1734	James Balfour
Thomson	Songs	1757	Balfour & Hamilton
Toeschi	2 Symphonies	1765	Bremner
Toeschi	Flute Concertos	1775	Bremner
Urbani	Scots songs 3 copies	1793	Urbani*
Various	Recueil de chansons	1753	n.s.
Various	Catch books	1752	Bremner
Various	Scots songs 2 books	1759	Bremner
Various	Scots songs	1763	Bremner
Various	1st set Scots songs	1765	Bremner
Various	1st and 2nd sets Scots songs	1766	Bremner
Various	Scots songs 1st set & a book	1769	Bremner
Various	Scots songs	1775	Bremner
Vivaldi	Concertos	1727	n.s.
Wagenseil	Symphonies	1762	Bremner
Wagenseil	Concertos	1763	John Mcpherson*
Wagenseil	Symphony	1765	Bremner
Wagenseil	Concerto	1773	Bremner
Wagenseil	Concerto	1772	Bremner
Wagenseil	Harpsichord Concerto	1762	Bremner
Welsh	2 Overtures	1774	Bremner
Wesley	Organ Concerto	1781	Jos. Reinagle*
Zannetti	Quintets 2 copies	1763	Bremner
Zinnello	Quintets	1764	Bremner

Appendix G.2. – Music purchases listed by year

The entries are those in Appendix G, arranged by year. Within each year composers are listed in alphabetical order.

n.s. = no source given for the purchase, because the information came from a minute or a letter rather than a receipt or a bill.

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>
Corelli	Concertos	1727	n.s.
Dallo	Sonatas	1727	n.s.
Geminiani	Concerto	1727	n.s.
McGibbon	Sonatas	1727	n.s.
Vivaldi	Concertos	1727	n.s.
McGibbon	Overtures	1728	n.s.
Geminiani	Last [latest] Concerto and Overtures	1729	Walter Pringle
McGibbon	Sonatas	1729	n.s.
Festing	Concertos	1734	n.s.
Festing	Concertos	1734	Bremner
McGibbon	Sonatas	1734	McGibbon
Oswald	Minuets	1734	n.s.
Thomson	Scots Song Collection	1734	Balfour
McGibbon	Sonatas	1735	n.s.
Handel	Songs in parts	1739	Oswald
G.B. Sammartini	3 Concertos	1739	Oswald
Geminiani	Solos	1747	Balfour/ Hamilton
Greene	Overture	1747	Balfour/ Hamilton
Handel	6 Overtures 9 th collection	1747	Balfour/ Hamilton
Handel	7 Trios	1747	Balfour/ Hamilton
Handel	Bass Songs	1747	Balfour/ Hamilton
Hasse	Concertos op. 6	1747	Balfour/ Hamilton
Porpora	Solos	1747	Balfour/ Hamilton
Stanley	Cantatas	1747	Balfour/ Hamilton
Geminiani	Concertos	1749	Walter Scott
Handel	Overtures 10 th Collection	1749	Oswald
Hebden	Concertos	1749	McGibbon
McGibbon	Scots Tunes	1749	McGibbon
Handel	2 Songs for French Horn	1750	Bremner
Handel	5 sets of Songs from the oratorios	1750	Bremner
Handel	5 sets of Songs for the harpsichord	1750	Bremner
Handel	Music for the Royal Fireworks	1750	Bremner
Handel	12 Duetts for 2 voices	1750	Bremner
Handel	12 English Duetts	1750	Bremner
Handel	Acis and Galatea	1750	Bremner
Geminiani	Concertos op. 3 & 4 from Solos op. 5 & 6	1751	Balfour/ Hamilton
Handel	Overtures 5 th -10 th collection	1751	Lauchlan Hunter
Handel	<i>Samson</i>	1751	Lauchlan Hunter
Handel	Songs from the latest Oratorios	1751	Balfour/ Hamilton
Hebden	Concertos	1751	Lauchlan Hunter
Avison	Concertos 'pub. last spring'	1752	n.s.
Felton	Concertos	1752	David Rutherford
Felton	Concertos	1752	Bremner
Felton	8 Concertos op. 5	1752	Bremner

Appendix G.2. – Music purchases listed by year

Galliard	Hymn	1752	Bremner
Geminiani	Concertos op. 7	1752	Lauchlan Hunter
Geminiani	Scots Tunes	1752	David Rutherford
Germain, Count St.	Trios	1752	Bremner
Palma	Songs	1752	David Rutherford
Pasquali	Overture	1752	n.s.
Rameau	Concertos	1752	Bremner
G. Sammartini	Op. 2 & 3	1752	Lauchlan Hunter
Various	Catch Books	1752	Bremner
Greene	Overture	1753	David Rutherford
Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	1753	n.s.
Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	1753	n.s.
Handel	Grand Concertos	1753	David Rutherford
Pasquali	2 Overtures	1753	Pasquali
G. Sammartini	Concertos and Overtures	1753	David Rutherford
G. Sammartini	6 Concertos op. 3	1753	David Rutherford
Stanley	Cantatas	1753	Will Rose
Various	Recueil de Chansons	1753	n.s.
Ciampi	Overtures	1754	Bremner
Handel	Bass Songs	1754	Bremner
Handel	<i>Deborah</i>	1754	Bremner
Palma	Songs	1754	Bremner
Avison	New Concertos	1755	n.s.
Berg	Concertos	1755	Bremner
Handel	60 Overtures	1755	Bremner
Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	1755	Bremner
Handel	Instr. parts of 160 Songs	1755	Bremner
Handel	Vol. 3 [?Songs]	1755	Bremner
Handel	Vocal parts of Songs	1755	Bremner
Hasse	Salve Regina	1755	Bremner
G. Sammartini	6 Concertos op. 2	1755	Bremner
Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	1756	n.s.
Ricchiotti	Concertos	1756	Bremner
Alcock	Concertos	1757	Bremner
Barsanti	Concertos	1757	Bremner
Campioni	Trios	1757	Bremner
Castrucci	Concertos	1757	Bremner
Ciampi	Concertos op. 6	1757	Bremner
Giardini	Overtures	1757	Bremner
Handel	<i>Solomon</i>	1757	Bremner
Humphries	Bass Concerto	1757	Bremner
Humphries	Trios	1757	Bremner
Humphries	Concertos for Trumpet	1757	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 1	1757	Bremner
Morigi	2 Concertos	1757	Bremner
G.B. Sammartini	Concertos	1757	Bremner
Thomson	Songs	1757	Balfour/Hamilton
Avison	Concertos op. 6	1758	Bremner
De Fesch	Concertos	1758	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 2	1758	Bremner
Palma	Songs	1758	Bremner
Burney	Concertos	1759	Bremner
Campioni	Trios	1759	Bremner
Handel	Overtures 11 th collection	1759	Bremner
Handel	Instr. parts to 6 songs vol. 4	1759	Bremner

Appendix G.2. – Music purchases listed by year

Handel	The flocks – a trio	1759	Bremner
Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	1759	Bremner
Handel	Songs no. 17	1759	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms [prob. Vol. 3]	1759	Bremner
Various	Scots Songs	1759	Bremner
Abel	Overtures	1760	Bremner
Barsanti	Concertos	1760	Thos. Trotter
Barsanti	Psalms	1760	n.s.
Boyce	Overtures	1760	Bremner
Garth	Concertos	1760	Bremner
Geminiani	Concertos	1760	Geminiani
Handel	Songs vol. 5 and instr. parts	1760	Bremner
Hellendaal	2 concertos	1760	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 4	1760	Bremner
Richter	Harpsichord Sonatas	1760	Bremner
Richter	Overtures	1760	Bremner
Barbandt	Symphonies	1761	Bremner
Galuppi	Overtures	1761	Bremner
Giardini	Harpsichord Lessons	1761	Bremner
Kelly	2 Overtures	1761	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 5	1761	Bremner
Abel	New Overtures	1762	Bremner
Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i>	1762	Bremner
Chilcot	Harpsichord Concertos	1762	Bremner
Cocchi	Overtures	1762	Bremner
Jomelli	Overtures	1762	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 6	1762	Bremner
Pugnani	Quintets	1762	Bremner
G.B. Sammartini	Nottornos	1762	Bremner
Schwindl	Symphonies	1762	Bremner
Wagenseil	Symphonies	1762	Bremner
Wagenseil	Harpsichord Concerto	1762	Bremner
Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i> Overture	1763	Bremner
Bassani	Voluntaries	1763	Bremner
Bauch	Harpsichord Concerto	1763	Bremner
Bauch	Concertos	1763	Bremner
Corelli	Concertos	1763	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos op. 2	1763	Bremner
Geminiani	3 Concertos op. 3, 2 nd edition	1763	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos op. 4 (solos)	1763	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos op. 7	1763	Bremner
Handel	60 Overtures	1763	Bremner
Handel	Last 6 Overtures	1763	Bremner
Handel	12 Grand Concertos	1763	Bremner
Handel	Songs: <i>Cleonic</i>	1763	Bremner
Handel	Voluntaries	1763	Bremner
Handel	2 Concertos	1763	Bremner
Handel	Harpsichord Concertos	1763	Bremner
Handel	Instr. parts for concertos op.4	1763	Bremner
Handel	Instr. parts for concertos op.7	1763	Bremner
Handel	Hautboy Concertos	1763	Bremner
Handel	Coronation Anthems	1763	Bremner
Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	1763	Bremner
Kelly	2 Overtures	1763	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms vol. 7	1763	Bremner

Appendix G.2. – Music purchases listed by year

Pelegriño	Harpsichord Concerto	1763	Bremner
Pugnani	Quartets	1763	Bremner
Purcell	Psalms with Interlude	1763	Bremner
Schwindl	Overtures	1763	Bremner
Stamitz	Trios	1763	Bremner
Stamitz	Trios	1763	Bremner
Stanley	Concertos	1763	Bremner
Various	Scots Songs	1763	Bremner
Wagenseil	Concertos	1763	John McPherson
Zannetti	Quintets	1763	Bremner
Abel	Overtures op. 1	1764	Bremner
Abel	Overtures op. 2	1764	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos from Corelli's Trios	1764	Bremner
Geminiani	2 Concertos from last solos	1764	Bremner
Marcello	Psalms [prob. Vol. 8]	1764	Bremner
Pugnani	Quintets	1764	Bremner
Zinnello	Quintets	1764	Bremner
Avison	Sonatas	1765	Callander
Filtz	2 Symphonies (Mar)	1765	Bremner
Filtz	2 Symphonies (Aug)	1765	Bremner
Holzbauer	2 Symphonies	1765	Bremner
Jackson	Elegy	1765	Bremner
Meder	Symphonies (Mar)	1765	Bremner
Meder	Symphonies (Jun)	1765	Bremner
Nardini	Concertos	1765	Bremner
Pasquali Ricci	Symphonies	1765	Bremner
Richter	Overtures op. 4	1765	Bremner
Richter	Overtures	1765	Bremner
Schwindl	Overtures op. 2	1765	Bremner
Schwindl	2 Symphonies	1765	Bremner
Schwindl	Symphony	1765	Bremner
Schwindl	Op. 8	1765	Bremner
Toeschi	2 Symphonies	1765	Bremner
Various	1 st set Scots Songs	1765	Bremner
Wagenseil	Symphony	1765	Bremner
Avison	Concertos op. 9	1766	Callander
Barsanti	Ms music	1766	Barsanti
Marcello	Psalms vols. 1 and 2	1766	Bremner
Rosengrave	Fugues	1766	Bremner
G. Sammartini	Op. 4	1766	Bremner
Various	1 st and 2 nd sets Scots Songs	1766	Bremner
Abel	Overtures	1767	Bremner
Avison	Concertos	1767	Callander
Avison	Concertos op. 7	1767	Callander
Avison	Last Concerto	1767	Callander
J.C. Bach	Op. 3	1767	Bremner
Barsanti	Nottunos	1767	Barsanti
Richter	Overtures	1767	Bremner
Glosser	Concertos	1768	Bremner
Purcell	Orpheus Britannicus	1768	Alexander Stewart
Abel	Op. 4 Quartets	1769	Bremner
Various	Scots Songs 1 st set and a book	1771	Bremner
Giardini	Sonatas	1771	Bremner
Haydn	Quartets	1771	Bremner

Appendix G.2. – Music purchases listed by year

Haydn	Op. 5	1771	Bremner
Schwindl	Quartets	1771	Bremner
Abel	Violin Trios	1772	Bremner
Holzbauer	Symphonies	1772	Bremner
Sirmen	Concerto	1772	Neil Stewart
Sirmen	2 nd Concerto	1772	Bremner
Wagenseil	Concerto	1772	Bremner
Abel	Op. 10	1773	Bremner
Abel	Symphonies op. 10	1773	Bremner
J.C. Bach	<i>Gioas</i>	1773	Bremner
Boccherini	Concerto	1773	Bremner
Giardini	Trios	1773	Bremner
Haydn	Quartets	1773	Bremner
Haydn	3 rd Symphony	1773	Bremner
Holzbauer	2 Symphonies	1773	Bremner
Schetky	Trios	1773	Schetky
Wagenseil	Concerto	1773	Bremner
Abel	Harpsichord Concerto	1774	Bremner
J.C. Bach	Flute Quintets	1774	Bremner
Collett	Overtures	1774	Collett
Handel	<i>Samson</i>	1774	Bremner
Schroter	Harpsichord Concertos	1774	Bremner
Spangenberg	2 Overtures	1774	Bremner
Welsh	2 Overtures	1774	Bremner
Abel	Quartets op. 12	1775	Bremner
Barthélemon	2 Solo Concertos	1775	Bremner
Barthélemon	Overtures	1775	Bremner
Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	1775	Bremner
Maldere	2 Overtures	1775	Bremner
Toeschi	Flute Concertos	1775	Bremner
Various	Scots Songs	1775	Bremner
Giordani	Harpsichord Concerto	1776	Bremner
Kammell	Overtures	1776	Bremner
Boccherini	Quartets	1778	Neil Stewart
Davaux	Symphonies	1778	Neil Stewart
Haydn	Quartets	1778	Alex McGlashan
Rauzzini	Quartets	1778	Neil Stewart
Stamitz	Quartets	1778	Neil Stewart
Giardini	Concertos	1779	Neil Stewart
Giardini	Trios	1779	Neil Stewart
Giardini	Quartets	1780	Bremner
Haydn	Symphony	1781	Joseph Reinagle
Regel	Symphony	1781	Joseph Reinagle
Wesley	Organ Concerto	1781	Joseph Reinagle
Haydn	2 Overtures	1783	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Favourite Overture in F	1783	Bremner
Haydn	Favourite Overture in E	1783	Bremner
Abel	Overtures op. 17	1784	Bremner
Haydn	5 Overtures	1784	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	2 Overtures	1784	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	6 Overtures (with Vanhall)	1784	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	2 Quartets	1784	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overtures op. 39	1786	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quartets op. 2 and 6	1786	Corri & Sutherland
Boccherini	Quartets op. 33	1787	Corri & Sutherland

Appendix G.2. – Music purchases listed by year

Clementi	Symphonies op. 18	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overtures 9 and 10	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Mozart	Quartets op. 10	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pasquali Ricci	Overtures	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quartets op. 3	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quartets 1 st set	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quintets 1 st and 2 nd sets	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Quartets nos. 2,3,4	1787	Corri & Sutherland
G.B. Sammartini	Overture	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Smitz	Overtures	1787	Corri & Sutherland
Handel	New Edition of Works	1788	John Russell
Handel	Songs	1788	John Russell
Haydn	Quartets op. 33	1788	Bremner
Haydn	Op. 44	1788	Bremner
Haydn	Overtures 1-8	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overtures in A, B, C	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overture 'La Chasse'	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	<i>Passion of our Saviour</i>	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Hofmeister	Op. 9	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Pieltain	Quartets	1788	John Russell
Pleyel	Quartet op. 7	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Sonatas	1788	Corri & Sutherland
Haydn	Overture no. 6	1789	Bremner
Haydn	Set Dedicated to the Duke of York [op. 52]	1789	Bremner
Kozeluch	Symphonies	1789	Corri & Sutherland
Pleyel	Overtures 3 and 5	1789	Corri & Sutherland
Handel	Vols. 39-83, Arnold Edition	1790	Samuel Arnold
Ebdon	Sacred Music	1791	n.s.
Handel	<i>Messiah</i> (parts)	1792	Gilbert Innes
Hook	Concerto op. 55	1792	Corri & Sutherland
Urbani	Scots Songs	1793	Pietro Urbani
Haydn	Symphonies 7 and 9	1794	Corri & Dussek
Haydn	Quartet op. 72	1795	Corri & Dussek
Pleyel	Overtures 7 and 8	1795	Corri & Dussek

Appendix ii – Instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

The table below includes all works which appear in sections 1 and 2 of the Musical Society Indexes, but excludes the small number of oratorio scores discussed in chapter 4, and the Periodical Overtures which are listed in Appendix K. The titles, spelling and opus numbers are taken verbatim from the Indexes.

<i>Name of composer</i>	<i>Name of work</i>	<i>Op.</i>
Abel	Periodical Overture no. 16	
Abel	6 Overtures	1
Abel	Overtures	2
Abel	6 Overtures	4
Abel	6 Overtures	7
Abel	6 Overtures	10
Abel	6 Overtures	14
Abel	6 Quartettos	7
Abel	6 Quartettos	8
Abel	6 Quartettos	12
Abel	6 Concertos with accompaniment	11
Abel, Giardini, Bach	6 Quartettos	
Alberti	10 Concertos in 5 parts	1
Albicastro	Sonatas in 3 parts	3 (old)
Albinoni	12 Ballettis	3
Albinoni	12 Concertos	5
Albinoni	6 Concertos & 6 Symphonies	2
Alcock	6 Concertos	
Aldrovandini	Sonatas	5 (old)
Arne	Overture: Artaxerxes	
Arne	8 Overtures	
Avison	6 Concertos	2
Avison	6 Concertos	3
Avison	8 Concertos	4
Avison	6 Sonatas	5
Avison	12 Concertos	6
Avison	6 Sonatas	7
Avison	6 Sonatas	8
Avison	12 Concertos	9
Avison	12 Concertos from Scarlatti's Harpsichord Lessons	
Bach, J.C.	6 Overtures	1
Bach, J.C.	6 Overtures	3
Bach, J.C.	6 Overtures	8
Bach, J.C.	6 Quintettos	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Alessandro	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Artaserse	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Astarto	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Della Casina	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Il Tutore e la Pupille	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: La Calamita	
Bach, J.C.	Overture: Orione	
Bach, J.C.	Periodical Overture no. 1	
Bach, J.C.	Periodical Overture no. 15	
Bach, J.C.	6 Concertos for harpsichord	1
Barbandt	6 Symphonies	6
Barbella	Overture	
Barsanti	9 Overtures a Quattro	4

Appendix n – instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

Barsanti	Concertos from the op. 3 & 4 of Corelli	
Barsanti	9 Overtures	
Barsanti	Sonatas from Geminiani's solos	ok
Barsanti	10 Concertos	3
Barsanti	6 Concertos da Notturmi from Sammartini	6
Barthélemon	Solo Concertos	3
Barthélemon	6 Concertos	7
Barthélemon	6 Overtures	6
Bassani	Sonatas in 3 parts	ok
Bates	6 Concertos for trumpet &c	2
Berg	6 Concertos	1
Boccherini	Periodical Overture no. 54	
Boccherini	Periodical Overture no. 55	
Boccherini	6 Quartettos	10
Boccherini	6 Quintettos	12
Boccherini	6 Quintettos	20
Boccherini	6 Quartettos	33
Bononcini	Overture: Astarto	
Bononcini	Overture: Griselda	
Bononcini	Overture: Pharnaces	ok
Bonporti	Sonatas in 3 parts	ok
Borghi	Solo Concertos	7
Boyce	8 Symphonies	6
Burney	Dead March	ok
Burney	6 Concertos	5
Cambini	23 Symphonies Concertantes	
Cambini	6 Quatuors	3
Cambini	6 Quatuors	7
Cambini	6 Quatuors	10
Cambini	6 Quatuors	11
Cambini	6 Quatuors	13
Cambini	Concertos	
Campioni	Sonatas, 1 st 2 nd and 3 rd sets	
Cannabich	Periodical Overture no. 10	
Caputi	Concerto	
Castrucci	12 Concertos	3
Cervetto	6 Sonatas for 3 violoncellos or 2 violins and bass	ok
Chilcot	6 Concertos for the harpsichord	
Chinzer	Concerto	
Ciampi	6 Overtures	5
Ciampi	6 Concertos	4
Ciampi	6 Concertos	6
Cocchi	2 Concertos for German flutes	
Cocchi	2 Concertos for French horns	ok
Cocchi	2 Concertos for 2 Hautboys	ok
Cocchi et al.	6 Overtures	
Conti	Overture: Clotilda	
Corbet	Bizzarie Universale 7 parts	8
Corelli	Sonatas	1
Corelli	Sonatas	2
Corelli	Sonatas	3
Corelli	Sonatas	4
Corelli	Concertos	5
Corelli	12 Concertos	6

Appendix H – Instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

Corelli	12 Concertos for contrabass and kettledrum	
Corelli	Concerto no. 4 (the Horns and trumpets by Pasquali)	
Corelli	4 Symphonies in 3 parts	old
Corelli	12 Sonatas for flutes taken from all his works	old
Corelli	Concerto no. 12 for violoncellos	old
Cramer	Concerto for violin no. 4	
Cramer	Sonata for pianoforte	
Crispi	Periodical Overture no. 5	
Davaux	Quartettos	6
Davaux	Concertos	7
Davaux	Symphonie Concertante	7
Davaux	Concertos	5
De Fesch	6 Concertos	5
De Fesch	10 Sonatas	7
De Fesch	8 Concertos	
Dittersdorf	Periodical Overture no. 38	
Eichner	Concertos	1
Felton	6 Concertos for the organ	2
Felton	6 Concertos for the organ	4
Felton	6 Concertos for the organ	7
Festing	12 Concertos	3
Festing	8 Concertos	5
Festing	6 Concertos	9
Festing	12 Sonatas 3 parts	2
Filtz	Periodical Overture no. 4	
Filtz	Periodical Overture no. 8	
Filtz	Periodical Overture no. 30	
Filtz	6 Overtures	
Galuppi	6 Overtures	
Galuppi & Cocchi	Overture: Arianna	
Galuppi & Cocchi	Overture: Il Filosofo di Compagna	
Galuppi & Cocchi	Overture: Malmantile	
Galuppi, Hasse & Vinci	Overture: Enrico	
Galuppi, Hasse & Vinci	Overture: Meraspe	
Galuppi, Hasse & Vinci	Overture: Penelope	
Galuppi, Hasse & Vinci	Overture: Scipione	
Garth	6 Concertos for the violoncello	
Geminiani	12 Concertos from Corelli's solos	
Geminiani	6 Concertos (old edition) 7 parts	2
Geminiani	6 Concertos (1 st & 2 nd Ripienos)	2
Geminiani	6 Concertos 8 parts	2
Geminiani	6 Concertos (old edition) 7 parts	3
Geminiani	6 Concertos 8 parts	3
Geminiani	6 Concertos from his solos 8 parts	4
Geminiani	Concertos	6
Geminiani	6 Concertos 8 parts	7
Geminiani	6 Concertos from Corelli's Sonatas	
Geminiani	6 Sonatas	
Gentili	12 Concertos	5
Gentili	Sonatas	old
Giardini	Solo Concertos	15
Giardini	6 Trios	17
Giardini	6 Trios	20
Giardini	4 Overtures	

Appendix n – instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

Giardini	Overture: Astarto
Giardini	4 Overtures & a quattro
Giordani	Overtures
Giornovich	6 solo Concertos for the violin
Giulini	Overture
Gluck	Periodical Overture no. 60
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 32
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 33
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 34
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 35
Gossec	Periodical Overture no. 36
Gossec	Symphonies
Graaf	Quartetto
Graun, Richter & Spangenberg	6 Overtures
Green	6 Overtures
Grossi	3 Concertos
Guglielmi	Periodical Overture no. 31
Handel	Grand Adagio and Musette
Handel	Overture: Acis & Galatea
Handel	Overture: Admetus (1 st)
Handel	Overture: Admetus (2 nd)
Handel	Overture: Atius [Aetius]
Handel	Overture: Alcina
Handel	Overture: Alexander
Handel	Overture: Alexander Balus
Handel	Overture: Alexander's Feast
Handel	Overture: Alexander Severus
Handel	Overture: Amadis (1 st)
Handel	Overture: Amadis (2 nd)
Handel	Overture: Ariadne
Handel	Overture: Ariodante
Handel	Overture: Arminius
Handel	Overture: Belshazar
Handel	Overture: Berenice
Handel	Overture: Calypso
Handel	Overture: Deborah
Handel	Overture: Deidamia
Handel	Overture: Esther
Handel	Overture: Flavius
Handel	Overture: Floridant
Handel	Overture: Hercules
Handel	Overture: Hymen
Handel	Overture: In Scena d'Inferno
Handel	Overture: Jephtha
Handel	Overture: Joseph
Handel	Overture: Joshua
Handel	Overture: Judas Maccabaeus
Handel	Overture: Julius Caesar
Handel	Overture: Justin
Handel	Overture: Lotharius
Handel	Overture: Messiah
Handel	Overture: Musio Scaevola
Handel	Overture: Occasional Oratorio
Handel	Overture: Orestes

Appendix H – instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

Handel	Overture: Orlando	
Handel	Overture: Otho	
Handel	Overture: Parthenope	
Handel	Overture: Pastor Fido (1 st)	
Handel	Overture: Pastor Fido (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Il Parnasso in Festa	
Handel	Overture: Pharamond	
Handel	Overture: Porus	
Handel	Overture: Ptolomy	
Handel	Overture: Radamistus	
Handel	Overture: Richard the First	
Handel	Overture: Rinaldo	
Handel	Overture: Rodelinda	
Handel	Overture: Samson	
Handel	Overture: Saul (1 st)	
Handel	Overture: Saul (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Scipio	
Handel	Overture: Scipio (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Semele	
Handel	Overture: Siroe	
Handel	Overture: Solomon (1 st)	
Handel	Overture: Solomon (2 nd)	
Handel	Overture: Sosarmes	
Handel	Overture: Susanna	
Handel	Overture: Tamerlane	
Handel	Overture: Theodora	
Handel	Overture: Theseus	
Handel	Overture: Thomyris	
Handel	Overture: Time & Truth	
Handel	Overture: Xerxes	
Handel	6 Sonatas	2
Handel	6 Concertos for Hautboys	3
Handel	6 Concertos for the Organ	4
Handel	7 Sonatas	5
Handel	12 Grand Concertos	6
Handel	6 Concertos for the Organ	7
Handel	65 Overtures	
Handel	Musick for the Royal Fireworks	
Handel	Water Musick	
Handel	French Horn Songs	
Hasse	6 Concertos (French Horns)	4
Hasse	6 Concertos (solo)	6
Hasse	Concerto	
Hasse	Concerto a 5	
Hasse	Overture: Artaxerxes	
Hasse	Overture	
Hasse	12 Concertos (solo)	
Hasse	Overture for French Horns	
Hasse, Vinci & Porpora	Overture: Polifemo	
Hasse, Vinci & Porpora	Overture: Arianna	
Haydn, F.J.	Overture in G	
Haydn, F.J.	Overtures in C, D, E & F	
Haydn, F.J.	6 Quatuors	1
Haydn, F.J.	6 Quatuors	2
Haydn, F.J.	6 Quatuors	5

Appendix H – Instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

Haydn, F.J.	6 Quatuors	
Haydn, F.J.	6 Grand Quatuors	7
Haydn, F.J.	3 Overtures	9
Haydn, F.J. and M.	Periodical Overture no. 40	10
Haydn, M.	Periodical Overture no. 56	
Hebden	6 Concertos	
Hellendaal	6 Grand Concertos	2
Herner	7 Concertos m.s.	3
Herschel	Periodical Overture no. 26	
Holzbauer	Periodical Overture no. 29	
Holzbauer	6 Overtures	
Humphries	12 Concertos	2
Humphries	12 Sonatas	3
Jomelli	Periodical Overture no. 14	1
Jomelli	Overture: Attilio Regolo	
Jomelli	Overture: Chaune [Catone in Utica]	
Kammell	6 Overtures	
Keiser	Overture: Croesus	10
Keller	Sonatas	
Kelly	Overture: Ezio	old
Kelly	Overture in m.s.	
Kelly	Quatuors	
Kelly	Periodical Overture no. 13	
Kelly	Periodical Overture no. 17	
Kelly	Periodical Overture no. 25	
Kelly	Periodical Overture no. 28	
Kelly	Overture no. 1	
Kelly	Overture no. 2	
Kelly	Overture no. 4	
Kelly	Symphony no. 3	
Kelly	Symphony no. 5	
Kelly	Concerto no. 6	
Kelly	Symphony no. 7	
Kelly	Symphony no. 8	
Kelly	Symphony no. 10	
Kelly	Symphony no. 11	
Kelly	Symphony no. 12	
Kelly	Symphony no. 13	
Kelly	Symphony no. 14	
Kelly	6 Overtures	1
Koczwara	Periodical Overtures	10
Lidel	6 Quartettos	2
Locatelli	12 Concertos	1
Maldere	Overtures	1
Maldere	6 Overtures	4
Maldere	6 Overtures	7
Maldere	Concertos	7
Mancini	Overture: Hydaspes	
Marino	Sonatas	3 (old)
Martini	Overture & 2 Concertos	3
McGibbon	Concerto from the ii solo of Corelli	
McGibbon	Concerto from the 1 st Sonata 3 op. of Corelli	
McGibbon	Overture	old
McGibbon	3 Concertos	old
Meder	6 Symphonies	

Appendix H – Instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

Morigi	6 Concertos	3
Mozart	Quartettos	10
Mudge	Cannone	
Mudge	6 Concertos	
Mysliweczek	6 Overtures	
Nardini	6 solo Concertos	
Orlandini	Overture	old
Pasquali	12 Symphonies & Overtures	
Pergolesi	Overture	
Pescetti	Overture: Demetrius	
Piccinni	Periodical Overture no. 20	
Piccinni	Periodical Overture no. 21	
Piccinni	Periodical Overture no. 22	
Piccinni	Periodical Overture no. 23	
Pleyel	Quintetts	8,9
Pleyel	Quartetts	1,2,3,6,9
Porpora	Overture: Ariadne, con corni e trombi	
Porpora	Concerto for violoncello	old
Porpora & Constanza	6 Sonatas for violoncellos &c	old
Pugnani	Periodical Overture no. 19	
Pugnani	Concerto	
Pugnani	3 Quartetti	
Pugnani	3 Quartetti 2 nd sett	
Pugnani	3 Quintetti	
Rameau	6 Concertos for the harpsichord	
Rauzinni	6 Quartettos	
Reid	Marches and Minuets 7 books	
Ricci	Periodical Overture no. 18	
Ricci	6 Overtures	2
Ricci	3 Concertante Symphonies	9
Ricciotti	6 Concertos	
Richter	Periodical Overture no. 18	
Richter	Symphony Concertante	
Richter	6 Overtures	1
Richter	6 Overtures	2
Richter	6 Overtures	3
Richter	6 Overtures	4
Richter	6 Concertos	
Richter	6 Sonatas	
Rigel	3 Symphonies	
Sacchini	6 Quartetts	2
Sammartini, Giuseppe	12 Sonatas	3
Sammartini, Giuseppe	6 Concertos	2
Sammartini, Giuseppe	6 Concertos	5
Sammartini, Giuseppe	8 Overtures	7
Sammartini, Giuseppe	6 Grand Concertos	8
Sammartini, Giuseppe	8 Overtures	10
Sammartini, Giuseppe	6 Grand Concertos	11
Sammartini, Gio: Batista	3 Concertos	2
Sammartini, Gio: Batista	6 Sonatas called Notturmi	9
Sammartini, Gio: Batista	1 Concerto in Degiardino's overture	
Sammartini, Gio: Batista	Overture	
Sammartini, Gio: Batista	Concerto	
Scarlatti	Overture: Narcissus	old
Schetky	Overture	

Appendix H – instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

Schetky	Simphonia Concertante	
Schetky	Pastorale	
Schetky	Concerto	
Schetky	Pastorale on the Nativity	
Schetky	6 Trios	
Schetky	6 Solos violoncello	
Schetky	6 Quartetts	
Schmitt	Periodical Overture no. 51	
Schmitt	Symphony	
Schwindl	6 Overtures	1
Schwindl	6 Overtures	2
Schwindl	6 Overtures	3
Schwindl	6 Symphonies	1
Schwindl	6 Quartetts	7
Schwindl	Periodical Overture no. 39	
Sirmen	6 Trios	
Sirmen	Solo Concertos	3
Smethergell	6 Symphonies	
Stalder	Symphony	
Stamitz, J.	6 Trios	1
Stamitz, J.	Periodical Overture no. 3	
Stamitz, J.	Periodical Overture no. 6	
Stamitz, J.	Periodical Overture no. 7	
Stamitz, J.	Periodical Overture no. 9	
Stamitz, J.	Periodical Overture no. 11	
Stamitz, J.	Periodical Overture no. 12	
Stamitz, J.	Periodical Overture no. 41	
Stamitz, J.	Orchestral Trios	
Stamitz, C.	6 Quartetts	2
Stamitz, C.	Symphonies	13
Stamitz, C.	6 Symphonies	
Stanley,	6 Concertos	
Tartini,	3 Concertos	
Tessarini	3 Contrastos	10
Tessarini	12 Introducionis	11
Tessarini	5 Sonatas	5
Tessarini	6 Symphonies	7
Tessarini	6 Symphonies	
Tessarini	12 Concertos	1
Torelli	6 Symphonies	5
Unknown	Bassoon solos	
Unknown [Jomelli]	Overture: Attilio	
Unknown [Handel]	Sinfonia d'Inferno	
Unknown [Bononcini]	Overture: Camilla	
Unknown [Bononcini & Ariosto]	Overture: Almahide	
Unknown [Handel]	Overture: Elpidia	
Vachon	6 Quartetts	5
Vachon	6 Quartetts	6
Valentini	Sonatas	1
Valentini	Bizzaria per Camera	2
Valentini	12 Fantasia	3
Vanhal	Periodical Overture no. 42	
Vanhal	Periodical Overture no. 45	
Vanhal	Periodical Overture no. 47	

Appendix H – Instrumental Music listed in the Indexes of 1765 and 1782

Vanhal	Periodical Overture no. 50	
Vanhal	6 Quartetts	7
Vivaldi	Concertos	3
Wagenseil	Concerto for flutes, violons &c	
Wagenseil	6 Concertos for the organ	
Weidemann	6 Concertos	2
Woodcock	12 Concertos for violins, flutes and hautboys	
Zannetti	6 Quintetti	

Appendix 1 – Oratorios performed by the Musical Society

The Musical Society entered dates of public concerts, both Ladies’ and St. Cecilia’s, in the account statements for each year, along with the amounts received for tickets. The works performed were not named until the later years, as may be seen below. The first years in this table are given as examples of the numbers attending the Ladies’ concerts, and the difference in the size of the audience for the St. Cecilia’s concerts. Funeral concerts have also been listed, as tickets were sold to the public for these, and some of their music was taken from oratorios.

The titles of works appear either from receipts or accounts for copying in the Innes of Stow papers, or from the ‘Charge’ (Income) section of the accounts for each year in the Minute books. These entries usually, but not always, indicate whether the concert was for Ladies or was the annual concert in honour of St. Cecilia; in each case the number of tickets sold is given and is entered in the table.

Unless otherwise indicated, the works named are by Handel.

From December 1763, concerts took place in St. Cecilia’s Hall, Niddry’s Wynd.

Date of concert	Type of concert	Tickets sold	Work performed, if known, and location, if not Mary’s Chapel.
29 Jul 1748	Ladies’	54	
?14 Nov 1748	St. Cecilia’s	102	
24 Feb 1749	Ladies’	94	
21 Jul 1749	Ladies’	42	
22 Nov 1749	St. Cecilia’s	229	<i>Saul</i> - Assembly Hall
26 Jan 1750	Ladies’	91	
23 Feb 1750	Ladies’	83	
27 Jul 1750	Ladies’	71	
14 Nov 1750	St. Cecilia’s	196	Assembly Hall
11 Jan 1751	Ladies’	99	
1 Feb 1751	Ladies’	73	
22 Feb 1751	Ladies’	76	
27 Jul 1751	Ladies’	64	
13 Nov 1751	St. Cecilia’s	200	Assembly Hall
28 Dec 1751	Funeral concert	98	
28 Feb 1752	Ladies’	82	
10 Jul 1752	Ladies’	47	

Appendix 1 – Oratorios performed by the Musical Society

22 Nov 1752	St. Cecilia's	132	Assembly Hall
26 Jan 1753	Ladies'	94	
3 Aug 1753	Ladies'	83	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>
22 Nov 1753	St. Cecilia's	133	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> - Assembly Hall
1 Feb 1754	Ladies'	77	
9 Mar 1754	Ladies'	78	
26 Jul 1754	Ladies'	68	<i>Stabat Mater</i> [Pergolesi]
3 Dec 1754	St. Cecilia's	343	<i>Deborah</i> or <i>Stabat Mater</i> - Assembly Hall
8 Mar 1755	Ladies'	210	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> – Assembly Hall
27 Jun 1755	Funeral concert	127	(Lord Drummore)
8 Aug 1755	Ladies'	120	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> – Assembly Hall
5 Dec 1755	St. Cecilia's	263	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> - Assembly Hall
5 Mar 1756	Ladies'	192	<i>Samson</i> - Assembly Hall
5 Aug 1756	Ladies'	136	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> – Assembly Hall
3 Dec 1756	St. Cecilia's	255	<i>Messiah</i> - Assembly Hall
11 Mar 1757	Ladies	175	<i>Solomon</i> – Assembly Hall
5 Aug 1757	Ladies'	95	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> – Assembly Hall
16 Dec 1757	St. Cecilia's	371	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> – Assembly Hall
10 Mar 1758	Ladies'	240	<i>Samson</i> – Assembly Hall
11 Aug 1758	Ladies'	127	<i>Solomon</i> - Assembly Hall
15 Dec 1758	St. Cecilia's	355	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> - Assembly Hall
23 Mar 1759	Ladies'	184	<i>Deborah</i> – Assembly Hall
10 Aug 1759	Ladies'	136	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> – Assembly Hall
14 Dec 1759	St. Cecilia's	330	<i>Deborah</i> - Assembly Hall
7 Mar 1760	Ladies'	238	<i>Messiah</i> – Assembly Hall

Appendix I – Oratorios performed by the Musical Society

19 Dec 1760	St. Cecilia's	305	Assembly Hall
26 Feb 1761	Ladies'	230	<i>Solomon</i> – Assembly Hall
18 Dec 1761	St. Cecilia's	295	<i>La Passione</i> [Jomelli]– Assembly Hall
17 Dec 1762	St. Cecilia's	293	Assembly Hall
16 Dec 1763	St. Cecilia's	256	(in new St. Cecilia's Hall from this year)
21 Dec 1764	St. Cecilia's	181	
19 Dec 1765	St. Cecilia's	158	
12 Dec 1766	St. Cecilia's	164	
7 Aug 1767	Ladies'	145	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>
19 Feb 1768	St. Cecilia's	440	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>
5 Aug 1768	Ladies'	268	<i>La Passione</i> [Jomelli]
16 Dec 1768	St. Cecilia's	174	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>
11 Aug 1769	Ladies'	86	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>
2 Mar 1770	St. Cecilia's	296	Choruses from <i>Acis and Galatea</i> and <i>Alexander's Feast</i>
21 Dec 1770	St. Cecilia's	129	<i>Samson</i>
22 Nov 1771	Funeral concert	170	(William Douglas and Sir Robert Murray)
24 Jan 1772	St. Cecilia's	344	<i>La Passione</i> [Jomelli]
6 Mar 1772	Ladies'	217	<i>La Passione</i> [Jomelli]
24 Jul 1772	Ladies'	172	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>
4 Dec 1772	Ladies'	197	<i>Messiah</i>
12 Mar 1773	Ladies'	117	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>
? Jul 1773	Ladies'	198	<i>Gioas</i> [J.C. Bach]
? Dec 1773	Ladies'	218	<i>Gioas</i> [J.C. Bach]
11 Feb 1774	Ladies'	132	<i>Bethulia Liberata</i> [Corri], <i>La Passione</i> [Jomelli], and choruses from <i>Stabat Mater</i> [Pergolesi]

Appendix 1 – Oratorios performed by the Musical Society

23 Dec 1774	Ladies'	168	<i>Samson</i>
11 Aug 1775	Ladies'	65	<i>La Passione</i> [Jomelli]
18 Aug 1775	Ladies'	149	<i>Gioas</i> [J.C. Bach]
22 Dec 1775	Ladies'	155	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>
6 Dec 1776	Ladies'	111	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>
28 Feb 1777	Ladies'	193	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>
19 Dec 1777	Ladies'	107	
18 Dec 1778	St. Cecilia's	144	
No concerts	recorded in	1779	
22 Dec 1780	Ladies'		<i>Acis and Galatea</i>
27 Dec 1780	Ladies'	153	
21 Dec 1781	Funeral concert	276	(Lord Kelly)
8 Mar 1782	Public Concert		<i>Acis and Galatea</i> – extracts, with <i>Epode of Horace</i> [Schetky] & chorus 'Britons, strike home' [Purcell, Bonduca].
26 Jul 1782	Ladies'	161	
20 Dec 1782	Ladies'	71	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> , organ concerto (Clark) & solo concerto (Reinagle)
13 Feb 1784	Ladies'	239	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>
29 Jul 1785	Ladies'	221	<i>Samson</i>
23 Dec 1785	Ladies'	72	Workd by Handel, Corelli & Schetky
20 Jul 1787	Ladies'		In Assembly Hall – building works in Niddry's Wynd
			Concerts started in St. Cecilia's Hall again on 21 Feb 1788
18 Jul 1788	Funeral concert		(Samuel Mitchelson)
19 Feb 1790	Ladies'	334	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>

Appendix J– Works copied for use by the Musical Society

The information in the table is taken from the receipts in the Innes of Stow papers, and is transcribed as it appears there with the addition of names of works or composers in square brackets for clarification. All copying was done in Edinburgh except for that commissioned from Handel’s secretary Christopher Smith in London.

Document no.	Copyist	Date	Works copied
GD113/5/208/3/23	David Nevay	Dec 1749	<i>Saul, Merope</i> [Terradellas] in 10 parts
7/26	John Dallas	1753-4	‘Myself I shall adore’ [Semele], ‘Must I my Acis’, ‘Wretched lovers’, ‘Ye verdant plains’ [Acis & Galatea]
8/4	John Kearcher	Aug 1754	<i>Stabat Mater</i> [Pergolesi]
8/6	John Graham	Nov 1754	<i>Deborah</i>
8/23	Kearcher	Dec 1754	<i>Deborah</i>
8/27	Kearcher	1754-55	<i>Sinfonia d’Inferno</i> , Overtures: <i>Hydaspes, Calypso, Elpidia, Attilio, Prophetic Rapture’s</i> ; Witch music from <i>Macbeth</i> , ‘Nel chiuso centro’, ‘Now the proud insulting foe’ [Deborah], Choruses from <i>Alexander’s Feast</i> , ‘With ravish’d ear’ [AF], ‘The princes applaud’ [AF], 5 Italian songs, Dead March in <i>Saul</i>
8/41	Christopher Smith	Feb 1755	Choruses and recits. of <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>
9/13	Dallas	1755-56	<i>Judas Maccabaeus, Acis and Galatea, Illumina, Laudate Dominum, Cantantibus Organis</i> , additions to various overtures ¹ , <i>Deborah, Stabat Mater</i> choruses, instr. parts to 3 concertos by Grossi, <i>Misereri, Alexander’s Feast</i> , boys’ choruses of <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>
10/2	Smith/Teede	Jul 1756	<i>Samson</i>

¹ (All the following are by Handel.)
‘Adding a menuet to *Alcides*
an air to *Porus*
a menuet to *Agrippina*
a menuet to *Julius Caesar*
an air to *Water Musick*
a menuet to *Solomon and Alexander Balus*
an air to *Messiah*
a gavotte to *Orestes*
a gavotte to *Radamistus and Floridant*
a bourree to *Muzio Scaevola*
a sarabande and allemande to *Belshazzar*.’

Appendix J– Works copied for use by the Musical Society

10/17	Dallas	1756-57	Choruses <i>Alexander's Feast & Admeto</i> , parts for Handel 2 nd concerto, <i>Te Deum & Jubilate</i> [Purcell], <i>Messiah</i> , <i>Solomon</i> , Coronation anthems, <i>Acis & Galatea</i>
10/34/1	Kearcher	1756-57	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> , 'Jehovah to my word give ear', allegro Lord Kelly, <i>Solomon</i> , 2 symphonies Lord Kelly, 'Mirth admit me to thy crew' [Handel]
10/34/2	Kearcher	1756-57	<i>Messiah</i> , <i>Samson</i>
11/23	Kearcher	1757	<i>Samson</i> choruses
11/28/1	Kearcher	1757	<i>Samson</i> , <i>Acis and Galatea</i>
10/11	John Reoch	May 1757	18 concertos Geminiani, flute concerto, overture in <i>Esther</i> , horn concerto
11/28/2	Kearcher	1757-58	139 th psalm, cantata by Stanley Alas, my <i>Julia</i> , cantata Lord Kelly, <i>Alexander's Feast</i> , <i>Samson</i> , sinfonia Lord Kelly
12/23	Dallas	Jun, Jul 1758	<i>Solomon</i> , concertos of Herner, <i>Deborah</i> , <i>Stabat Mater</i> , <i>Messiah</i> , <i>Acis and Galatea</i> , <i>Alexander's Feast</i> all parts
12/25	Kearcher	Jul-Sep 1758	<i>Solomon</i> , 2 concertos Lord Kelly
12/29	Kearcher	Dec 1758, 1759	<i>Samson</i> , <i>La serva padrona</i> , Sinfony Lord Kelly, <i>Deborah</i>
14/21	Dallas	Jan 1759	Boys' choruses of <i>Deborah</i>
13/34/2	Kearcher	May-Sep 1759	Ciampi overtures (horns), 3 Italian songs for Miss Rodburn, sinfony parts of 32 songs for Miss R., <i>Acis and Galatea</i> parts, 3 songs by Jomelli, bass part of Marcello's psalms, 1 Italian song
13/34/1	Kearcher	1758-60	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> , 3 symphonies Lord Kelly, <i>Messiah</i>
14/23/1	Kearcher	Feb-Jun 1761	<i>Solomon</i> , 2 Italian songs, 1 English song, bass part of 7 th psalm of Marcello
14/23/2	Kearcher	May-Dec 1761	Bass part of 15 th psalm Marcello, 1 Italian song, flute parts of 4 Italian songs, overture Lord Kelly, 5 overtures and 3 flute concertos, 2 Italian songs, choruses and bass song for St. Cecilia's concert
15/26	Kearcher	Jul-Dec 1761	1 Italian song with instr. parts, choruses and parts <i>La Passione</i> , Italian song, choruses of oratorio

Appendix J– Works copied for use by the Musical Society

17/36	Kearcher	Apr 1763	42 sheets of Italian duetts and trios
18/29	Kearcher	1763-64	Italian song (hautboy and horn parts), 'Attilia che farrai' (horn and tenor parts), string and vocal parts duet by Bach, 2 copies symphony Lord Kelly, Pergolesi cantata, 2 Italian songs, 7 Italian songs
18/30	Kearcher	1764	Italian song, 'Ombra cara', 'If o'er the cruel tyrant' [<i>Artaxerxes</i>]
19/22	Kearcher	1765	'In infancy' [<i>Artaxerxes</i>], 'If o'er the cruel tyrant', Psalm 23 of Marcello
GD113/5/209/2/ 24 /1	Kearcher	1767	15 Italian songs, tenor chorus <i>Acis and Galatea</i>
2/24/2	Kearcher	Dec 1767	5 copies 3 rd and 7 th psalms Marcello
3/28	Kearcher	Jun 1768	Various song, string and horn parts
4/25/2	Kearcher	Aug 1768	Tenducci's part in oratorio [<i>La Passione</i>]
4/26	Robert Ross	Dec 1768	3 songs from <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>
5/34	Ross	1769-70	2 song from <i>Acis and Galatea</i> for Tenducci (instr. parts), song by Jomelli for Gilson, 2 copies of 6 overtures by Cocchi, Galuppi, Hasse
6/40	Ross	1770-71	All parts 'Chiari fonti', 'Sposo Euridico', choruses of <i>Samson</i> , 'Honour and arms'
6/61	Graham	Dec 1771	2 tenor parts <i>Acis and Galatea</i> , 1 bass part <i>Alexander's Feast</i> (chorus books)
GD113/5/210/1/ 50	Ross	1771-72	2 copies Bach overture no. 2, Pugnani 2 nd quartets, song from <i>La Passione</i> , several others not performed
2/51	William Cranmer	1772	<i>Messiah</i> (parts)
2/50	Ross	1772-72	Performance parts <i>Messiah</i> , <i>Samson</i>
2/52	Stephen Clarke	May 1773	<i>Gioas</i> (parts)
3/36	Ross	May-Jun 1773	Instr. parts <i>Gioas</i>
3/39	Giovanni Corri	Apr 1774	Peter's part in <i>La Passione</i> , <i>Bethulia liberata</i>
3/37	Clarke	Jun 1774	<i>Samson</i> (parts)
4/23	Clarke	Dec 1774	<i>Samson</i> (parts)
5/62/1-3	James Pringle	Dec 1775	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> (parts)
5/63	Reoch	Jun 1776	Overture Lord Kelly

Appendix J– Works copied for use by the Musical Society

GD113/4/164/201	Ross	Dec 1778	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> (parts), 'Softly sweet in Lydian measure' [AI]
164/198	Ross	1779-80	Concertos by Schaw [sic] and Vachon, songs for Tenducci, instr. parts of 'Voi dolci aurette', tenor of 'Nel chiuso centro', parts for 'Se vile mi brama'
164/204	Ross	1781	2 Smethergell overtures, duets for the Corris
164/196	Ross	1781-82	Haydn overture in D (parts), items for Kelly funeral concert, cello part <i>Epode of Horace</i> [Schetky], instr. parts 'Britons strike home', choruses <i>Messiah</i> , string parts Haydn overture in E
164/202	Ross	1782-83	Chorus parts <i>Acis and Galatea</i> , concertos by Giornovich and Cambini
164/267	Ross	1783	Instr. parts 'Chiari fonti'
164/265	Ross	1784	Concerto parts for Stabilini, instr. parts Italian songs, bass ripieno of 8 solo concertos for Stabilini,
164/266	Ross	1784	Songs and recitatives <i>Alexander's Feast</i> , concerto for Stabilini, instr. parts for songs
164/262	Ross	1784-85	Bass of Cramer concerto for Stabilini, parts of songs for Urbani, bass of overture by Cimarosa, bass of 1 st symphony by Bach, instr parts of terzetto and duet by Sarti
164/261	Ross	1785	Bass of 4 concertos for Stabilini, song 'Then long eternity' [Samson] for Tenducci
164/260	Ross	1786	Parts of Pastorale for the Nativity [Schetky]
164/259	Ross	1786	'Amid a thousand racking woes' [Artaxerxes] for Mrs. Kennedy
164/258	Ross	1787	Flute part and bass of Haydn overture, instr. parts of recitative and rondo by Sarti

Appendix K – Purchases of the *Periodical Overtures* by the Musical Society

The series of overtures published by Robert Bremner in London from 1763 was very popular with the Musical Society, providing it with new music on a regular basis. Study of the date of publication in conjunction with the date of purchase by the Society shows that in many instances the Society was receiving copies of works very soon after publication. Nos. 36, 47 and 56, for example, were billed in the music seller's account in the month after publication. In other cases the purchase was recorded several months after, but this is not a reliable guide to when the Society actually received the music, as accounts were not made up every month. The date of publication is taken from David Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and the Periodical Overture', *Soundings* no. 7, 1978, pp. 63-84.

Composer	Periodical number	Date published	Date bought by EMS	Quantity bought	Times played in plan books
J.C. Bach	1	30 Jun 1763	Aug 1763	1 copy	3
P. Ricci	2	1 Aug 1763	Aug 1763	1 concert set	7
J. Stamitz	3	31 Aug 1763	Oct 1763	3 concert sets	20
A. Filtz	4	5 Oct 1763	Nov 1763	1 copy	6
P. Crispi	5	30 Oct 1763	Nov 1763	1 concert set	6
J. Stamitz	6	1 Dec 1763	1763	1 concert set	17
J. Stamitz	7	2 Jan 1764	1763	1 concert set	19
A. Filtz	8	6 Feb 1764	1763	1 copy	10
J. Stamitz	9	3 Mar 1764	1763	1 copy	4
J.C. Cannabich	10	5 Apr 1764	May 1764 Jun 1766	1 copy 1 copy	7
J. Stamitz	11	May 1764	May 1764 Oct 1768	1 copy	8
J. Stamitz	12	2 Jun 1764	Sep 1764	1 copy	7
Lord Kelly	13	15 May 1766	Jan 1766	1 copy	24
N. Jomelli	14	31 May 1766	Not recorded		16
J.C. Bach	15	1 July 1766	July 1766	4 concert sets	7
C.F. Abel	16	4 Aug 1766	Nov 1766	4 concert sets	8
Lord Kelly	17	Oct-Dec 1766	Nov 1766	4 concert sets	18
F.X. Richter	18	Before 7 Feb 1767	Feb 1767	4 concert sets	5
G. Pugnani	19	20 Aug 1767	Dec 1767 Mar 1772	3 concert sets	6
N. Piccinni	20	7 Sep 1767	Aug 1771	1 copy	12
N. Piccinni	21	24 Sep 1767	Aug 1771	3 copies	3
N. Piccinni	22	22 Dec 1767	Aug 1771	3 copies	1
N. Piccinni	23	Before 9 Mar 1768	Aug 1771	3 copies	1
P. Ricci	24	? 1768	Aug 1771	1 copy	1
Lord Kelly	25	13 Jun 1769	Not recorded		11

Appendix K – Purchases of the *Periodical Overtures* by the Musical Society

J. Herschel	26	1769-1770	Not recorded		1
T. Arne	27	4 Apr 1770	Aug 1771	3 copies	0
Lord Kelly	28	May-Dec 1770	Not recorded		10
I. Holzbauer	29	15 Dec 1770	Not recorded		3
A. Filtz	30	27 Feb 1771	Aug 1771	3 copies	1
P. Guglielmi	31	Before 26 Sep 1771	Not recorded		12
F.J. Gossec	32	Oct-Dec 1771	Dec 1771	3 copies	3
F.J. Gossec	33	8 Jan 1772	Not recorded		4
F.J. Gossec	34	Feb-May 1772	Mar 1772	4+5 copies	2
F.J. Gossec	35	Feb-May 1772	Mar 1772	4 copies	2
F.J. Gossec	36	22 Jun 1772	July 1772	4 copies	1
J. Franzl	37	9 Sep 1773	Nov 1773	4 copies	0
C. Dittersdorf	38	7 Dec 1773	Nov 1773	4 copies	1
F. Schwindl	39	Before 9 Nov 1774	Mar 1774	4 copies	2
M. and J. Haydn	40	Before 9 Nov 1774	May 1774	4 copies	7
J. Stamitz	41	Before 9 Nov 1774	May 1774	4 copies	1
J.B. Vanhal	42	9 Nov 1774	Apr 1775	2+2 copies	10
J. Stamitz	43	Before 13 May 1775	Apr 1775	4 copies	0
J.C. Bach	44	13 May 1775	Apr 1775	4 copies	0
J.B. Vanhal	45	Jun-Oct 1775	Not recorded		3
F.J. Gossec	46	28 Nov 1775	Nov 1775	2+2 copies	0
J.B. Vanhal	47	Dec 1775	Jan 1776	4 copies	2
J.B. Vanhal	48	24 Jan 1776	May 1776	4 copies	0
A. Sacchini	49	16 Oct 1776	Not recorded		0
J.B. Vanhal	50	10 May 1777	Not recorded		1
Schmitt	51	1777-78	Not recorded		2
J.C. Cannabich	52	14 Mar 1778	Not recorded		0
J.B. Vanhal	53	15 Dec 1778	Not recorded		0
L. Boccherini	54	May 1779	Sep 1779	2 copies	4
L. Boccherini	55	1779-80	Not recorded		1

Appendix K – Purchases of the *Periodical Overtures* by the Musical Society

M. Haydn	56	30 Nov 1780	Dec 1780	3 copies	6
J.B. Vanhal	57	1781-82	Not recorded		0
J.B. Vanhal	58	1781-82	Not recorded		0
J. Schobert	59	1781-82	Not recorded		0
C.W. Gluck	60	13 Dec 1783	Not recorded		1

Appendix L – Directors of the Musical Society

The following is a list of the Directors (ordinary members of the governing committee) of the Society, including those who went on to be principal office-bearers.

<i>Last name</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Years in office</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Bayne	Alexander	First Preses 1728, Governor 1728-31, Director 1735	Lawyer
Boswell	Alexander	1738-39	Lawyer
Bruce	James	1731-32	Lawyer
Callender	James	1743, 1766-68	Academic
Campbell	Colin	1728	Civil servant
Carmichael	John	1749-56	Lawyer
Carmichael	James	1741, Treasurer 1744-47	Lawyer
Charters	Francis (Earl of Wemyss)	1752-54, 1762-64	
Clerk	Hugh	1732-34, 1736-49	Merchant
Clerk	Robert	1740	Lawyer
Clerk	James	1748	
Cockburn	Patrick	1731	Lawyer
Dalrymple	David (Lord Westhall)	1757-61, 1766-75	Lawyer
Dalrymple	Hugh	1729-31, 1733-34	Lawyer
Douglas	William	1743-44, Treasurer 1749-71	Merchant
Drummond	Thomas	1745-47	Minister
Elliot	Thomas	Jun-Jul 1751	Doctor
Elphingston	James (Sir)	1733	Lawyer
Erskine	Thomas (Earl of Kelly)	1757-66, Deputy Governor 1767-81	
Falconer	James	1740	Landowner
Forbes	William (Sir)	1773-81, Deputy Governor 1781-96	Banker
Forbes	Hugh	1730, 1732	Lawyer
Foulis	David	1739	Doctor
Gordon	Alexander	1761-66	Lawyer
Grant	Archibald (Sir)	1772-90	Landowner
Grant	(Hon. Baron)	1762-63	Civil servant
Gregory	John	1766-72	Academic
Home	Henry (Lord Kames)	1762-71	Lawyer
Home	Alexander	1734-35	
Hope Weir	Charles	1737, 1739, 1741, 1744-45	
Inglis	David	1728-30, 1732, 1735-36, 1738	Banker
Innes	Gilbert	1782-96	Banker
Kennedy	David (Earl of Cassilis)	1764-69	
Lumsdain	Robert	Treasurer 1728-30, Director 1737	Lawyer
Lumsdain	John	1754, 1756-61	Lawyer
Mackenzie	Kenneth	1740, 1743-44	
Mackenzie	Henry	1788-1796	Lawyer
Maxwell	Alexander	1751-57	Merchant
Mitchelson	Samuel	1738, Treasurer 1739-44, Director 1744-66	Lawyer
Murray	Hugh	1736-37	Landowner
Murray	Robert	1764-1771	Military / civil

Appendix L – Directors of the Musical Society

Pringle	Walter	1729	Lawyer
Pringle	Robert (Lord Edgefield)	1728-30, 1732, 1734, 1737, 1743, 1748-49, 1752 (Jan-Jun)	Lawyer
Pringle	John	1793-96	Lawyer
Rae	David (Lord Eskgrove)	1793-96	Lawyer
Rose	Hugh	1729	Landowner
Ross	David	1755-56	Lawyer
Russell	John	1780-89	Lawyer
Scott	Walter	1766-70	Landowner
Scott	Francis	1775-80	
Sinclair	Charles	1731, 1733, 1735	Lawyer
Sinclair	Robert	1770-1796	Lawyer
St. Clair	Andrew	1736, 1740-41, 1750	Doctor
Stewart	James	1742	
Trotter	John	1790-96	Landowner
Tytler	William	1742, 1745-66, Treasurer 1747-48/9, Director 1771-92	Lawyer
Tytler	Alexander	1789-96	Lawyer
Wauchope	James	1733	Landowner
Wedderburn	Peter (Lord Chesterhall)	1728, 1730-31, 1735, 1750-51, Deputy Governor 1752-56	Lawyer
Wight	Alexander	1768-93	Lawyer
Young	John	1734	Lawyer

Appendix M – Description of papers relevant to the Edinburgh Musical Society in the possession of the Boughton Estate

These papers, which belong to the estate of the Duke of Buccleuch, are at present held in Northamptonshire Record Office.

Ref. MC 2.4.

Thematic index of some works held in the library of the Edinburgh Musical Society, written in a board-bound volume with alternate pages of 12-stave manuscript and blank paper. There is a total of 137 incipits, followed by two sections specifying certain works for either 17 or 32 players.

The first entry is of the Earl of Kelly's Op. 1 *Overtures*, set out thus:

<i>Book</i>	<i>No. in the Book</i>	<i>Opera</i>	<i>No. of the overture</i>	<i>Key</i>
No. 22	7	1ma	1 st	D

This appears on the left page, with the first 3-4 bars of each movement on the corresponding stave on the right page.

The six overtures of the opus take the first six staves, and are followed by the same details for the six overtures in Abel's op. 1 *Overtures*.

In the key column there is sometimes an indication of #3, to show the major key, and the word 'minore' is also given above some second movements, but the use is not consistent. If an opus no. is given, it is listed here.

Works listed:

- Abel, *Overtures* opera 1,2,7
- Avison, *Concertos* opera 2,3,4,6,9
- J.C. Bach, *Overtures* op. 3
- Corelli, *Concertos* op. 6
- Festing, *Concertos* opera 3,5,9
- Filtz, *Symphonies*
- Geminiani, *Concertos* opera 2,3,4,7, *Concertos* from Corelli's Solos and Sonatas
- Handel, 61 *Overtures*, 12 *Grand Concertos*
- Hebden, *Concertos* op. 2
- Kelly, *Overtures* op. 1
- Meder, *Symphonies*
- Pugnani, *Quartets* and *Quintets*
- Ricci, *Overtures* op. 2
- Ricciotti, *Concertos*
- Richter, *Overtures* opera 2,4
- G. Sammartini, *Concertos* opera 2,5, *Overtures* opera 7,10, *Grand Concertos* opera 8, 11
- G.B. Sammartini, *Concertos* op. 2
- Schwindl, *Overtures* opera 1,2
- Zannetti, *Quintets*
- All the *Periodical Overtures* up to and including no. 36.

Appendix M – Description of papers relevant to the Edinburgh Musical Society in the possession of the Boughton Estate

The Index is written entirely in one hand, and represents only a small part of the total number of works in the 1765 Index. It is possible that it was made for the Society to include favourite and often-performed works. Certainly in the period for which plans of the concerts are available, i.e. the years 1768-71 and 1778-86, all the above works were played except for some of the Handel overtures and the quintets of Zannetti. Several Handel overtures appear in the thematic index which are not in the 1765 index, but the record-keeping of the Society was not perfect, and it may be that works such as the overtures to *Agrippina* or *Atalanta* were missing at the time the index was made. The name 'St. Cecilia's Hall' is written on a paper label fixed to the centre of the front cover, which would tend to indicate that the index was one made officially for the Society, but there is no way of knowing at the moment whether there were companion volumes, or how the choice of works to be listed was made.

The later part of the thematic index is a source of hitherto-unknown detail regarding the instrumentation of the Society's orchestra for a number of listed works. After the section discussed above, a new part of the catalogue reads:

*Set of Overtures Letter A containing 17 books viz. 2 first Violins 2 Second Violins
Two Tenors Four Basses Four Flutes & Hautbois Two Horns & a Drum.*

There is then a list of 36 overtures which follow this instrumental pattern, including some which date from much later than those in the first list. Number A1 is Gluck's *Overture* in C, referred to as the 60th *Periodical* in *Medea & Jason*, which was published in 1783, and numbers A8-13 are the set of six overtures in Abel's op. 17, bought by the Society in 1784.¹ The Abel set is followed by 17 overtures by Haydn.

This instrumentation is different from that given by Arnot in his 1776 description of the Society's orchestra— 'a *maestro di capella*, an organist, two violins, two tenors, six or eight ripienos, a double or contra base and harpsichord; and occasionally two French horns, besides kettledrums, flutes and clarinets.' The organisation has become more professional, with no place for the ripienos, who would have been the gentlemen players. The string parts have been increased and the balance has been evened out.

The second section in the later part of the thematic index starts:

*Set of Overtures Letter B containing 32 Books viz. 3 first Violins 3 Second Violins 3
Tenors 6 Basses 3 first Oboes 3 Second Oboes 2 Flautos 3 first & 3 Second Horns 2
Trumpets & 1 Drum.*

¹ Nos. 2-7 are overtures by Toeschi, J. Stamitz, Sarti, C. Stamitz and Haydn (2).

Appendix M – Description of papers relevant to the Edinburgh Musical Society in the possession of the Boughton Estate

The first entry is of Michael Haydn's *Overture* in Eb, the 56th *Periodical* published in 1780. There then follows a number of sets of works which are listed by

title of the set and then separately, sometimes with exact instrumentation, as for example:

Three *symphonies* for 2 violins Tenor Bass 2 Oboes or Clarinets 2 Horns 2 Bassoons 2 Trumpetts & Timbales by Messrs. Gossec & Rigell

2 Gossec D

3 Gossec C

4 M Rigel D

The other sets are:

Six *Symphonies* by Chas. Stamitz fils aîné for 2 violins Tenor Bass (2 Oboes & 2 Horns ad libitum)

Six *Overtures* in 8 parts collected by Antonio Kammell

Six *Overtures* in 8 parts performed at Vauxhall by W. Smethergell Organist Op. 5

Six *Sextuor* Per due Violini Viola Due Violoncelli e Flauto da Luigi Boccherini op. 15

Six *Concertos* for the Organ Harp or Piano Forte with Accompts. & a harpsichord Sonata by Phil. Hayes Bac. Mus.

Six *Concertos* for the Organ or Harpsichord with Accompt. For 2 violins a tenor & Bass 2 Hautbois & two French Horns by Charles Weslie op. 2nd.

There are in addition four overtures by Haydn, in C, D, Eb and F (printed in one volume), and one by Giardini in D ('Overture to Astarto'). This and the Haydn in C are marked 'full band necessary', probably because despite the listing at the head of the section, few of the works in this group actually require 32 players.

Other documents in the Boughton House collection which are connected to the Edinburgh Musical Society.

BS 4.I.12 – *Messiah*

BS 3.I.10 – *Scipio, Alexander*

BS 4.I.11 – *Acis and Galatea*

BS 4.II.9 – *Flavius*

BS 4.I.5(1-5) – *Samson, Occasional Oratorio, Faramondo, Floridant* (Favourite songs),

Six Italian cantatas by Roseingrave.

Appendix M – Description of papers relevant to the Edinburgh Musical Society in the possession of the Boughton Estate

These are five bound volumes of works by Handel, two of which (*Flavius* and *Samson*) are stamped 'Edinburgh Musical Society' on the front cover. *Messiah* and *Acis and Galatea* have the name of the Society hand-written on the title page or on the flyleaf. *Scipio* has a number 30 pasted on the cover which might indicate that it was a Society copy. These are the first books to indicate how the Society marked its music. Three contain a single work, *Flavius*, *Messiah*, and *Acis and Galatea*. The others consist of several works, which were probably originally soft-cover editions, bound together in hard cover. The most interesting of the five is the edition of *Acis and Galatea*, which has on the contents page a series of crosses and circles marking various items, clearly for performance purposes. These markings are discussed in Chapter 4.

Acis and Galatea has, in addition to the Society mark, the signature of Gilbert Innes of Stow on the inside front cover, as do the copies of *Messiah* and *Scipio* and *Alexander*. Three other volumes of Handel have his name in the same fashion inside the front cover, but do not have the stamp of the Musical Society. They are:

BS 1.II.2 – *Israel in Egypt*

BS 4.I.6 – *Samson*

BS 3.II.2 – *Lotharius*

Three other volumes in the Boughton collection show a connection with the Musical Society, although not so directly as the above:

BS 3.II.1 - a printed edition of Handel's songs (vol. 1) arranged for harpsichord, voice, and oboe or flute, which has the signature of 'Chas. F. Schen. (Organ)' at the top of the title page. Charles Scheniman was employed by the Society as a harpsichordist from 1773 to 1779.

MC 2.21(2) – a handwritten volume of arias, mostly by Porpora, bound in parchment and with the signature of 'N. Corri' on the inside front cover. Natale Corri was employed by the Society from 1792 to 1795, during which time he brought the singer, Miss Giolivetti, to Edinburgh from France. It is possible that these arias were a part of her repertoire.

MC 1.17 – a volume of 24 Italian Duos, with sacred words, dedicated to the Duchess of Buccleuch by the composer, Hurka de Monti. It was printed in Edinburgh, and has a leather and gold-tooled binding. De Monti was an Austrian who settled in

Appendix M – Description of papers relevant to the Edinburgh Musical Society in the possession of the Boughton Estate

Glasgow, according to Farmer,² and there is evidence of a close connection with the Buccleuch family in the Minutes of the Society. On 20 November 1789, the Society approved of Mr. Innes' agreeing to his (Monti's) performing at the concert, 'and to Monti's singing when the Duke of Buccleuch ... honoured the Society with [his] company.'³ There is also in the Innes papers a letter of rather lukewarm recommendation on behalf of Monti to the Society from a Mr. Fraser Scott.⁴

The last items of interest are two sets of instrumental part books which are stamped 'Leith Concert'. They are the first evidence of any organised concert activity in the district of Leith, and consist of identically board-bound volumes, containing a repertoire almost wholly shared by the Edinburgh Musical Society.

BS 3.II 6 – 7 volumes of parts: 1st violin, 2nd violin, viola, 2 basso books, oboe/clarinet/1st and 2nd flute (all in one book), and horn/trombi [trumpet]/flute (all in one book).

Repertoire: *Periodical Overtures* nos. 1-9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 25, 28

Bach, *Overture* in 8 parts in D

Favourite Overture in Eb [Haydn]

Pugnani, *Overture to Nanetta e Lubino*

G. Rush, *Overture to The Royal Shepherd*

BS 3.III – 8 volumes of parts for the following repertoire:

Kelly, *Six Overtures* op. 1

Abel, *Six Overtures* op. 1

Also in the appropriate part books are:

Six Sonatas for 2 violins and thorough bass for harpsichord by Max. Humble

Six Trios for 2 violins and cello by Schetky, dedicated to the Earl of Kelly, op. 2.

² Farmer, op. cit., p. 328.

³ EMS Minutes, vol. IV, p. 112.

⁴ GD113/4/164/102. 'I am desired by the Duchess of Buccleuch and Lady Betty Cunningham to request you would allow a Signor Monti who is now at Dalkeith and who, with Stabilini, is to wait on you this forenoon, to show his Talent in singing for a Night in the Concert when it opens for the winter. You will I Hope easily excuse my interference in this Matter when I tell you it is merely at the desire of the above Ladies. I have heard the man once - he has no voice, but seems to be a good enough musician to know what he is about. I understand he wishes to be established here as a Master, and, if found worthy, to be engaged in the Concert.' (Dated 5 November 1789, so the minute of 20 Nov. was a reply to the letter.)

Appendix M – Description of papers relevant to the Edinburgh Musical Society the possession of the Boughton Estate

Dr. David Johnson dates these works as 1760s and 1770s, and it is not surprising that they should reflect the same titles as the Edinburgh Society, since the concerts in Cecilia's Hall were the principal music-making events in the city, and anyone interested in producing other concerts would have known what was being played there.

The organised presentation of the volumes of parts connected with the 'Le Concert' seems to indicate a well-established function, and the name 'John Cundel' stamped on the second set mentioned may provide a clue for further research into this society, of which nothing has hitherto been known.

Appendix N – Members of the Musical Society listed by Masonic Lodge

The names are in alphabetical order in each lodge. Those marked with asterisk belonged to more than one lodge, and therefore appear in each relevant lodge.

CANONGATE KILWINNING

Alexander Abercromby*

James Adam

John Bethune

Alexander Boswell

James Boswell*

Dr. John Boswell*

James Bruce

James Bruce (Kinnaird)

James Burnet, Lord Monboddo

James Callender

Charles Campbell

William Campbell

James Lindsay Carnegie

John Cathcart

Francis Charteris, Earl of
Wemyss

Mr. Colquhoun

William Congalton

James Coutts

James Cunningham, Earl of
Glencairn

Hew Dalrymple, Lord Drummore

David Dalrymple, Lord Westhall

Sholto Douglas, Lord Aberdour

John Douglas(s)

Dr. Colin Drummond

George Drummond*

Patrick Duff

Sir William Dunbar

Alexander Elphingston

Hon. Henry Erskine

Adam Fairholm*

Dr. William Farquharson

Alexander Ferguson*

Hon. Andrew Forbes

Sir William Forbes

Hon. Alexander Gordon

William Graham*

James Halyburton

Dr. James Hamilton

James Hay, Earl of Errol

John Hay yr.

Thomas Hay*

Robert Hepburn

Sir James Home

James Hunter Blair*

John Hutton

Henry Jardine

Dr. James Lind*

John Lumsdean

William Lumsdean

Henry Mackenzie

Hon. Baron Maule

David Melville, Earl of Leven*

Patrick Miller

William Miller

Hugh Murray

Col. William Napier

John Nisbet

William Nisbet

Fletcher Norton

Alexander Orme*

Mr. Oswald (Dunnikier)

Gen. Adolphus Oughton

George Ramsay, Earl of
Dalhousie

William Robertson

David Ross

James Sandilands, Earl of
Torphichen

John Scot(t)

Nathaniel Spens

David Stewart

James Stewart

Walter Stewart

James Stuart

John Swinton yr.*

William Urquhart

John Welsh

Sir John Whiteford

Alexander Wood

Dr. Thomas Young

HOLYROOD HOUSE (ST. LUKE'S)

Alexander Abercrombie*
Alexander Abercromby*
Robert Allan
Roger Aytoun
Andrew Balfour*
William Beveridge
James Boswell
Dr. John Boswell
Robert Brown*
George Clephan*
James Clerk
Andrew Crosbie*
Alexander Cunningham
Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas
William Farquharson
Alexander Ferguson*
James Gibson
William Hamilton
Thomas Hay*
Adam Inglis
William Inglis
William Johnston
James Jollie
Archibald Ker (Keir)
James Ker (Moriston)

James Kerr
Alexander Kinloch
John Hay Maitland
Patrick McDoual
John McKenzie*
Alexander Moir
Alexander Orme*
John Cumming Ramsay*
Charles Robertson
George Robertson
James Spence*
David Steuart
Alexander Stevenson*
John Swinton yr.*
Mr. Thriepland
James Urquhart yr.
Henry Welsh
Alexander Wight
John Wild (Wyld)
Joseph Williamson
John Young

KILWINNING SCOTS ARMS

Colin Campbell
John Colville, Lord Colville
David Erskine, Lord Dun
Adam Fairholm*
Hugh Forbes
John Graham
John Hamilton
Thomas Hamilton
George Home
William Home, Earl of Home*
Sir Alexander Hope*
Hon. Charles Hope

James Justice
George Ker
Alexander Kincaid yr.*
Alexander McMillan
Alexander Stewart, Earl of
Galloway*
Rev. Dr. George Wishart

LODGE OF EDINBURGH, (MARY'S CHAPEL)

John McFarlane
Sir John Clerk
George Drummond*

William Ker
George Irvine (Irwing)
Sir Alexander Hope*

LODGE ST. GILES'

Adam Austin
John Blair
David Craigie
Andrew Crosbie*
Thomas Cumming
Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kellie
Alexander Ferguson*
Dr. David Foulis
Cosmo Gordon
William Graham*
Andrew Haliburton
James Hunter Blair*
Dr. James Lind*
Walter Little*
John McKenzie*
Samuel Mitchelson
John Cumming Ramsay*
James Spence*
Alexander Stevenson*
John Swinton*
Thomas Tod
Thomas Todd

LODGE VERNON KILWINNING (afterwards St. Giles')

Sir Alexander Hope*
Charles Lessley

LODGE ST. DAVID'S

Alexander Abercrombie*
Andrew Balfour*
Robert Brown*
George Clephan*
David Melville, 6th Earl of Leven*

LODGE DRUMMOND KILWINNING

James Douglas, Earl of Morton
George Drummond*
David Erskine, Earl of Buchan
Alexander Melville, 5th Earl of Leven
John Sinclair
John Sinclair, W.S.
Archibald Stewart
Joseph Williamson*

LODGE EDINBURGH KILWINNING

Earl of Kilmarnock
Thomas Erskine, Lord Erskine
William Home, Earl of Home*

Alexander Kincaid yr.*
Alexander Stewart Earl of Gall
Rev. Dr. George Wishart*

Appendix N – Members of the Musical Society listed by Masonic Lodge
MEMBERS WHOSE LODGE IS UNKNOWN

Earl Ancram
 Charles Bruce, 5th Earl of Elgin
 James Charteris, 5th Earl of Wemyss
 Patrick Crichton, 6th Earl of Dumfries
 Sholto Douglas, 15th Earl of Morton
 George Graham of Kinross (member of a lodge in Glasgow)
 Lord Haddow
 David Kennedy, 10th Earl Cassilis
 Alexander Lindsay, 6th Earl of Balcarres
 Henry Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Duke of Buccleuch
 Alexander Montgomerie, 10th Earl of Eglinton
 Hugh Seton of Touch
 James Stirling
 James Stuart, 8th Earl of Moray

Most of the names on the list immediately above also appear below in list of members of the Musical Society who were Grand Master Masons of Scotland. They were referred to in minutes of lodges by the title, when visiting in their capacity, and were not identified with the name of their own lodge.

Members of the Musical Society who were Grand Master Masons of Scotland

James, 14th Earl of Morton*	1739-40
Alexander, 5th Earl of Leven and Melville	1741-42
William, 4th (last) Earl of Kilmarnock	1742-43
James, 5th Earl of Wemyss	1743-44
James, 8th Earl of Moray	1744-45
William Nisbet of Dirleton	1746-47
Hon. Francis Charteris (afterwards 7th Earl of Wemyss)	1747-48
Hugh Seton of Touch	1748-49
Thomas, Lord Erskine	1749-50
Alexander, 10th Earl of Eglinton	1750-51
James, Lord Boyd (afterwards 15th Earl of Errol)	1751-52
George Drummond§	1752-53
Sholto, Lord Aberdour* (afterwards 15th Earl of Morton)	1755-57
Alexander, 6th Earl of Galloway	1757-59
David, 6th Earl of Leven and Melville	1759-61
Charles, 5th Earl of Elgin	1761-63
Thomas, 6th Earl of Kellie*	1763-65
James Stewart§	1765-67
George, 8th Earl of Dalhousie	1767-69
Lt-Gen. Adolphus Oughton	1769-71
Patrick, 6th Earl of Dumfries	1771-73
David Dalrymple (afterwards Lord Westhall)	1774-76
Sir William Forbes	1776-78
Alexander, 6th Earl of Balcarres	1780-82

Appendix N – Members of the Musical Society listed by Masonic Lodge

David, 11th Earl of Buchan	1782-84
George, Lord Haddo(w)	1784-86
Francis, 8th Lord Napier	1788-90
William, Earl of Ancram	1794-96
Sir James Stirling§	1798-1800

§ - Lord Provost of Edinburgh
* - Grand Master Mason of England

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